



## OLIVER CROMWELL

Lord Protector of the Common-Wealth of  
England. Scotland and Ireland. &c.

Taken from an Original picture of S. Cooper in the possession of M. Frankland.



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THE  
L I F E  
O F  
OLIVER CROMWELL,  
*Lord Protector*  
OF THE  
Common - Wealth  
O F  
*England, Scotland, and Ireland.*

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*Impartially collected from the best Historians, and  
several original MANUSCRIPTS.*

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The SECOND EDITION with ADDITIONS.

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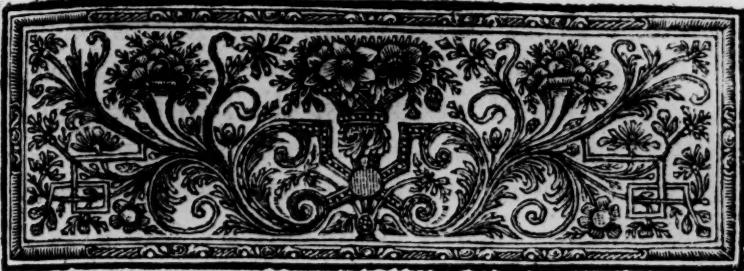
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# THE PREFACE.



HE following Sheets contain the History of a Person of a very singular and uncommon Character, who made the greatest Figure during our late Troubles, and the latter Part of whose Life was fill'd with a Variety of great Actions both in War and Policy; who, from a private Gentleman of no considerable Fortune, rais'd himself to the highest pitch of Power and Grandeur, obtain'd the supreme Authority and Command over three Nations, and over-aw'd the most powerful Princes and States about

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us ; a Man whose good Fortune, in most of his great Undertakings, accompany'd him to the last, and who after a continued Series of Successes, died in the peaceable Possession of the Sovereign Power, was interr'd among our Kings with a regal Pomp, and had his Death condoled by the greatest Princes and States of *Christendom*, in solemn Embassies to his Son. It being a natural Curiosity in Men, to know the Characters of such as have render'd themselves famous by uncommon Exploits, I judg'd a regular and just Account of the Actions, Proceedings, and Management of this extraordinary Man, could not be unacceptable.

AMONG the many who have hitherto wrote of him, very few have done it with Temper ; some commending, others condemning him, and both out of measure : I have therefore in compiling the following LIFE, taken care to avoid both Extremes, and declining either Panegyric or Satire, have faithfully related Matters of Fact, and left the Reader to judge of them as he shall think fit. I have purposely avoided all reproachful Terms and invidious Reflections, which discover only the Anger and Malice of an Author, whose Busines is only to describe plain Matters of Fact without Prejudice or Partiality. This I have sincerely endeavour'd to do, having as freely set down those Actions of CROMWELL which carry an ill aspect with them, as I have those which appear with a better face, and are

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are by many of his Adversaries acknowledg'd to be praise-worthy. In short, I have neither lessen'd his bad, nor multiply'd his good Deeds ; but have had a strict regard to Truth, as far as I was by good Authorities convinc'd of it.

THE *Lives* that have been hitherto written of this great Man, are manifestly faulty in many respects. The foreign ones are rather *Romances* than *Histories*, being fill'd with such Intrigues, Adventures, and Actions, as our *English* Writers speak not one Word of. As to those in our own Language, they are either such as discover the most fervile Flattery or bitterest Rancor, or are wrote in an odd sort of ludicrous Style; and all of them are exceedingly defective, wholly omitting several very remarkable Transactions and Occurrences, and very imperfectly describing many others. All these Faults are carefully avoided in the following History, wherein I have endeavour'd to be as plain and intelligible as possible, and to omit no material Fact or curious Story I could find supported by any good Authorities. Where our own and foreign Writers disagree in relating the Circumstances of a Fact, I have follow'd the former, supposing them to be best inform'd; and when any of our own Historians differ, I usually take notice of such Difference, that nothing may be related with a greater Appearance of Certainty, than in proportion to the real Evidence it has to support it. I have perus'd  
and

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and consulted the *Lives* above mentioned, that nothing that is valuable in them might be pass'd by; tho' I found them so very faulty in one respect or other, that I usually chose to take the Stories which they have, from some other Authors of more approved Credit, rather than from them: So that this is a Work entirely new.

I HAVE been particularly very large upon that nice Period, from the Conclusion of the Civil War to the King's Death; and have given as particular and exact an Account as possible of the Differences between the Parliament and Army, of the Management between the King and Parliament, and between the King and the Army, of the Dissensions between the Agitators and superior Officers about treating with the King, and how CROMWELL was induc'd to desert the King's Interest, and reconcile himself again to the Agitators; all which at last brought on the King's Death.

As to the Method I have taken in composing the following LIFE, it is divided into three Parts, and each Part into several distinct Chapters. The first Part contains the Actions of this great Man during the Life of King CHARLES I. to the Death of that unfortunate Monarch: The second describes his Actions under the *Commonwealth* Government, from the King's Death to the Dissolution of the long Parliament: And the third gives an Account of his Management

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nagement and Behaviour in his *Protector-ship*, from the Dissolution of the said Parliament to his Death. To all this, as a Conclusion, I have added his Character, his magnificent Lying in State, and pompous Funeral; as also an *Appendix*, containing a more perfect Account of his Pedigree, with some Account of his Children, and of the State of Affairs to the Restoration of King CHARLES II. Strict Regard has been had to the Chronology from one Period to another. By this Method I have consulted the Reader's Ease, as well as his Pleasure and Profit in the History it self.



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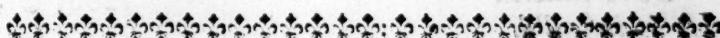
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T H E  
L I F E  
O F  
OLIVER CROMWELL.

---

P A R T . I.

*Containing an Account of his Life  
and Actions, to the Time of the  
KING's Death.*

---

C H A P . I.

*Some Account of him till the breaking out  
of the WAR between the KING and  
PARLIAMENT.*



*L I V E R C R O M W E L L* His Birth  
was born at Huntingdon, April and De-  
25, 1599. being descended of an  
antient and considerable Family  
in that County. His Father  
was Mr. Robert Cromwell, second  
son of Sir Henry Cromwell, and Brother of Sir  
Oliver, who at his House at Hinchingbrook, made

B the

the noblest Entertainment to King James I. at his Accession to the *English* Crown, that had ever

\* See a fuller Account of his Pedigree in the Appendix. liver had a very great Estate; but our Oliver's Father being a younger Brother, had not above 300*l.* per Annum.

NOTWITHSTANDING the lowness of his

His Education and Manner of Life. Fortune, he took great Care of his Son's Education, sending him, when grown up, to the University of Cambridge, where he was a Student in Sidney College, tho' 'twas then obser'd, that he was not

so much inclin'd to Speculation as to Action. Whilst he was here his Father died, upon which he return'd home, and led an extravagant kind of Life, additing himself to such Follies as young Persons are too apt to fall into; so that his Mother was advis'd to send him up to Lincoln's-Inn, where he betook himself to the Study of the Law: But not liking that sedentary Employment, he soon return'd again into the Country, and follow'd his former vicious Courses, to the wasting of a great Part of his paternal Estate. At length he became greatly reform'd, and grew mighty sober and religious; and having an Estate of four or five hundred Pounds per Annum, left him by Sir Robert Steward, his Uncle by his Mother's side he married Elizabeth, Daughter of Sir James Boucher.

He falls in with the Puritans. AFTER his Reformation, he adher'd for some time to the Church of England, very devoutly attending on the publick Service; but at length falling into the Hands of some Puritans, he became a zealous Friend to that Party, frequently entertaining their Ministers at his House. At this time he is said to have been so scrupulously just, that having some Years before won thirty Pounds of one Mr. Calton at play, he now paid him back again, telling him that he had got it by

indirec-

indirect and unlawful Means, and that it would be Sin in him to keep it any longer.

WE hear nothing of his acting in a publick Capacity till the Year 1628, when he was one of the Committee of Religion in King Charles's third Parliament, and gave Information to the House, that the Bishop of Winchester countenanced some in King Charles's third Parliament. who preach'd downright Popery, and that 'twas by his means that Dr. Manwaring was promoted to a rich Living; concluding, *If these be Steps to Church Preferment, what are we shortly to expect?*

THE Power of Arch-bishop Laud growing grievous to the Puritans, he being very severe in His Design of removing his Proceedings against them, many of them began to think of taking Refuge in foreign Plantations; and such Numbers of Families actually transported themselves, that the Government at length prevent-ed. taking Umbrage at it, publish'd a Proclamation, to restrain the disorderly transporting his Majesty's Subjects to the Plantations in America, without a royal Licence. Mr. Oliver Cromwell, together with Sir Matthew Boynton, Sir William Conable, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Mr. John Hampden, and several other Gentlemen, were preparing to move themselves, and were actually embark'd for that purpose; but were prevented by the said proclamation, and the following Order of Council, That the Lord Treasurer of England should take speedy and effectual Course for the stay of eight Ships now in the River of Thames prepar'd to go for New-England, and should likewise give Order for the putting on Land all the Passengers and Provisions therein intended for the Voyage." And thus Mr. Cromwell's Voyage to New-England was prevented.

ABOUT the Year 1638, the King and some Lords became Undertakers for draining the He open-lands in Lincolnshire, and the Isle of Ely. ses the draining his Project was oppos'd by several, chiefly by of the Fens.

the Town of Cambridge; and Mr. Oliver Cromwell boldly headed this Party against the Undertakers for draining the Fens. By this means,

**1640.** Is chosen and by promising his farther Assistance in their to serve in behalf, he got to be elected Burgess for the the Long Town of Cambridge in 1640, to serve in that Parliament which was afterwards called the Long.

**Concerns himself in the Grievances of Religion.** IN this Parliament he soon shew'd himself a zealous and forward Opposer of Grievances in Religion; and 'tis said, that one time when Sir Thomas Chicheley and Mr. Warwick were talking with him in the House about the Affair of Religion, he said, *I can tell you, Sirs, what I wou'd not have, tho' I cannot tell what I wou'd.*

**1641.** HE was a great Promoter of the Commons grand Remonstrance of all the Grievances in the Grand Nation from the King's Accession to that Time, which was presented to his Majesty at his Return from Scotland. A Day having been ap-

pointed for retaking it into the Consideration of the House, upon its not being call'd for till Noon that Day, 'twas urg'd and consented to, that it should be deferr'd till the next Morning; upon which Occasion Mr. Cromwell ask'd

**His Dis-course with the Lord Falkland.** *Why he was for deferring it, since that Day wou'd soon have determin'd it?* Who answer'd, *There would not be time enough for sure it would take some Debate;* to which it.

the other reply'd, *A very sorry one,* concluding it would be opposed but by a few: But the Debate being enter'd upon about nine the next Morning, continu'd all that Day and the Night following till three in the Morning, when it was carried for the Remonstrance by nine Voices only. And when the House broke up, the Lord Falkland ask'd Mr. Cromwell, *Whether there has been a Debate?* Who answer'd, *He wou'd take his Word another Time;* and whispering him in

the

the Ear, solemnly assur'd him, *That if the Remonstrance had not pass'd, he would have sold all he had the next Morning, and never have seen England more; and he knew many other honest Men of the same Resolution.*

THE Difference between the King and Parliament (occasion'd by evil Counsels on one hand, and continual Jealousies and Fears on the other) was now grown to such a Height, that soon after the presenting this Remonstrance, it broke out into an open War between them; of which, so far as concerns our present Purpose, we shall give some Account in the following Chapters.

1644.

The Civil  
War  
breaks  
out.

## C H A P. II.

*From the breaking out of the Civil War,  
to the Battle of Marston-Moor.*

AT the breaking out of the War, Mr. Cromwell was commission'd by the Parliament to make Captain of a Troop of Horse, which he speedily rais'd in his own Country. In listing them, he had Regard to such only as he thought to be stout and resolute; and having compleated his Troop he us'd this Art to prove them: Upon His Standard first Muster, near some of the King's Garrison towns, he privily plac'd twelve of them in an ambuscade, who with a Trumpet sounding a Charge, made furiously towards the Body, of which above twenty, thinking they came from the Enemy, presently fled for fear, whom Cromwell immediately cashier'd, and mounted their Horses with such as were more bold and courageous.

He se-  
cures Cam-  
bridge.

THE University of Cambridge being not far off him, he very seasonably secured it for the Parliament, when a great Quantity of the College-plate was just upon the Point of being convey'd to the

Takes the King at Oxford. And so active and industrious High Sheriff of Hertfordshire was he, that when Sir Thomas Connesby, High Sheriff of Hertfordshire, was going to proclaim the Earl of Essex, the Parliament's General, and all

his Adherents Traytors, at St. Alban's on a Market-Day, he rushed unawares into the Town with a Party of Horse, surpriz'd the Sheriff and his Assistants, and sent them Prisoners to London, to the no small Satisfaction of the Parliament, who gave him the Thanks of the House, from this Time looking upon him as a very promising Person for their Service.

1643.

He is  
made a  
Colonel,  
and is ve-  
ry active  
for the  
Parlia-  
ment.

IN the Year 1643. he was advanc'd to the Degree of a Colonel, and by his own Management rais'd a Regiment of a thousand Horse, with which he rang'd about, and with great Industry obtructed many Levies for the King in Cambridgeshire, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk; and particularly he defeated the Project of a Counter-Association for the King's Service, contriv'd by Sir John Pettus, Sir Edward Barker, and other Gentlemen, at the Town of Lestaff in Suffolk, with great Secrecy and Celerity entering the Town and surprizing them all. Here he also gain'd good Store of Ammunition, Saddles, Pistols, Powder, Shot, and several Engines for War, sufficient to have serv'd a considerable Force. And he surpriz'd those Gentlemen in the very nick of Time; for as many more who were before listed, design'd the very next Day to have met at the same Place, and if their Design had succeeded the whole Country had been in great Danger of being lost. So that this Action of Cromwell's was a very seasonable Service to the Parliament, and prov'd a great Discouragement

ment to all the King's Party both in *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*.

AFTER this, he was sent to guard some Am-<sup>Takes in</sup> munition from *Warwick* to *Glocester*, and by the *Hilſden-*  
*House*. way took in *Hilſden-House*, and in it Sir *Alexan-*  
*der Denton*, the Owner, Colonel *Smith*, many in-  
ferior Officers, about a hundred Horse, thir-  
teen Barrels of Powder, and about an hundred  
and fifty common Soldiers, besides forty slain;  
then he gave an Alarm to *Oxford*, and so went on  
to *Glocester*.

HE was now made Lieutenant-General to the Earl of *Manchester*; and having rais'd a greater Force of such as came freely in to him, he march'd towards *Lincolnshire*, with a Resolution to assist those Forces which lay about *Newark*, one of the strongest Garrisons then held for the King. In his March thro' *Huntingdonshire* he disarm'd many who were ill-affected to the Parliament. He was now above two thousand strong, and receiv'd an Addition of Horse from Captain *Hotham*. At his first Approach before *Newark* he perform'd a good Piece of Service: For Captain *Wray* with his *Lincolnshire* Horse too rashly quartering near the Town, was in the Night set upon by the Garrison, which made a great Sally, and surround-ed and took all his Men. But the Alarm coming to *Cromwell*, he advanc'd, and at ten a Clock at Night fell upon the *Newarkers*, rescu'd Captain *Wray*'s Troop, and took three of theirs, with the Slaughter of many of them. After this, sett-ing down before the Town, he took many Men and Colours at several Times; and soon after meet-ing with twenty four Troops of the King's Horse and Dragoons near *Granitham*, he encounter'd them with such Fury and Resolution, that, tho' he had but seven Troops with him, he en-tirely routed them.

Relieves  
Gainsbo-  
rough.

THE Earl of Newcastle being inform'd, that the Lord Willoughby of Parham had got Possession of the Town of Gainsborough for the Parliament, sent his Brother Colonel Cavendish, Lieutenant-General of his Army, with a great Party of Horse and Dragoons, to summon it, himself marching after with the Foot. Upon this Cromwell resolv'd to attempt the Relief of that Place, and with twelve Troops of Horse and Dragoons march'd thither, where he found the Enemy, who were drawn up near the Town, to be more than thrice his Number, and no way to attack them, but through a Gate and up Hill; notwithstanding which Disadvantages, he undauntedly fell upon them, and after some Dispute, entirely defeated them, killing many of their Officers, and among them, Lieutenant-General Cavendish.

HERE Whitelock says, " This was the Beginning of his (viz. Cromwell's) great Fortunes, and now he began to appear to the World. He had a brave Regiment of Horse of his Country-men, most of them Freeholders, and Freeholders Sons, who upon Matter of Conscience engag'd in this Quarrel under Cromwell. And thus being well arm'd within, by the Satisfaction of their own Consciences, and without, by good Iron Arms, they wou'd as one Man, stand firmly, and charge desperately." Cromwell's Policy was very much seen in making Choice of such Men as these, who had a Persuasion they were engag'd in the Cause God, to serve under him against the King's Party.

THUS was Gainsborough reliev'd; but the Victors had but a short Time of rejoicing, for within two or three Hours, the routed Enemy rallying, and joining with the rest of Newcastle's Army, march'd against them; whereupon they treated to Lincoln that Night in good Order, and

and without any losf, facing the Enemy with three Troops at a Time, whilst they drew off the rest. *Lincoln* not being defensible, *Cromwell Marches* march'd the next Day to *Boston*, to join the Earl to *Boston*. of *Manchester*, who with h's new rais'd Forces, had very seasonably reduced *Lynn* under the Pow-er of the Parliament.

To prevent any farther Addition to *Man-1644,chester's Forces*, the Earl of *Newcastle* advanc'd with his Army, and detach'd a strong Party of Horse and Dragoons towards *Boston*, appearing, by their Standards, to be eighty seven Troops, commanded by Sir *John Henderson* an old Soldier, who understanding that Colonel *Cromwell* was drawn out towards him with the Horse and Dragoons, made haste to engage him, before the Earl of *Manchester*, with the Foot, could march up; as accordingly it happen'd at a Place call'd *Windsby-field*, near *Horn-Castle*. In the Is in great first Shock *Cromwell's Horse* was kill'd and fell danger upon him, and as he rose, he was again knock'd down by the Gentleman that charg'd him, sup-<sup>near Horn-  
Castles.</sup>os'd to be Sir *Ingram Hopton*, though others say Captain *Portington*, who afterwards plainly told him, *That he aim'd at his Nose, when he hit his Horse on the Head*. He never was in more Danger in his Life; but with difficulty he got remounted, and charged the Enemy with great Resolution. The Encounter was very sharp, but lasted not an Hour, before the Royalists were entirely routed by *Manchester's Troops*, many of them being kill'd, amongst whom was the Lord *Widdrington*, Sir *Ingram Hopton*, and other Persons of Quality. The routed Forces were pursued by the Parliamentarians almost as far as *Lincoln*; in which pursuit several of them were kill'd and taken Prisoners, and many Horses and Arms taken. In pursuance of this Victo-*r*, the Earl of *Manchester* march'd directly to *Lincoln*,

1644. *Lincoln*, sat down before it, and summon'd it, and afterwards took it by Storm, with very inconsiderable Loss.

**Advances to the Siege of York.** AFTER this, the Earl with his Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, advanc'd to re-inforce the Siege of *York*, which was then beleagured by the Scotch General *Leven*, and the Lord *Fairfax*. Soon after, Prince *Rupert* arriving with about eighteen thousand Men, caused the Besiegers to raise the Siege; who joining their Forces, resolv'd to watch his Motions, and to fight him if they found Occasion: But a little to refresh themselves, and furnish themselves, with Provisions, which they wanted, they marched towards *Tadcaster*.

THE Prince elevated with Success, and not thinking it enough to have relieved the City, if he did not also defeat the Enemy, contrary to the Advice of those that were with him, he march'd after them, and finding them at *Marston-Moor*, forc'd them to a Battle; in which the left Wing of his Army, commanded by himself, charging the Parliament's Right, so totally routed them, that the three Parliament Generals, *Leven*, *Fairfax*, and *Manchester*, quitted the Field, and fled towards *Carwood-Castle*. Here the Prince pursu'd his Enemies too far, which lost him the Day. The three Generals being thus beaten out of the Field, the Honour of the Day fell to *Cromwell*; for the left Wing of the Parliament's Army, commanded by him, engaged the Prince's right, command'd by the Earl of *Newcastle*, who had gain'd an advantageous Piece of Ground upon *Marston-Moor*, and caus'd a Battery to be erected upon it, from which Captain *Walton*, *Cromwell*'s Sister's Son, was wounded by a Shot in the Knee: Hereupon *Cromwell* order'd two Field-pieces to be brought for annoying the Enemy, appointing

**Gains the Battle of Marston-Moor.**

two Regiments of Foot to guard them; who marching for that End, were set upon by the Foot of the Prince's right Wing, that fir'd thick upon them from the Ditches. Upon this both Sides seconding their Foot, were wholly engag'd, who before had only stood facing one another. The Horse on each Side fought with the utmost Bravery and Courage; for having discharg'd their Pistols, and flung them at each others Heads, they fell to it with their Swords; but after a very obstinate Dispute, the Victory was obtain'd by *Cromwell's* Brigade, Prince *Rupert's* right Wing being totally routed and flying, and the Parliament's Horse pursuing and killing many of them in their Flight. And now the left Wing of the Prince's Army, who had been Victors, came back to their former Ground, being confident of Victory, and utterly ignorant of what had befallen the right; but before they could put themselves into any order, they were charg'd and entirely routed by the Reserves of *Cromwell's* Brigade.

1644

OTHER Accounts are given of this Battle, but all agree in ascribing to *Cromwell* the glory of the Action. Some say he was wounded in the right Arm at the first Charge, and went off to have it dress'd; and returning to his Post, found the Army in that Disorder as is above related. Any other Man, says *F. Orleans*, wou'd have run with the Stream, and followed such Examples, as he need not blush at, to seek his safety by Flight. *Cromwell* rather chose to shew what good Sense could do, when seconded by Valour. He presently perceived that the Conquerors were in as much Confusion as the Conquered, those who pursued observing no more Order than those that fled; but that there were some Brigades of his Army that stood firm, and had not as yet been engaged. He made no Scruple to put himself at their Head, and charg-

1644. charging with these fresh Troops, whom his own Prowess inspired with new Courage, he so vigorously attack'd the Enemy, whom Victory had made careless of keeping their Ranks, that this unexpected Turn changed the Scene at once, and entirely broke them.

THE Number of the slain in this Battle were computed at eight Thousand. Sir *Charles Lucas*, Major General *Porter*, Major General *Tilyard*, with about a hundred Officers more, were taken Prisoners by the Parliament's Forces. All the Artillery, great Numbers of Arms, and a good Quantity of Ammunition and Baggage, fell also into their Hands; the Prince's own Standard, with the Arms of the *Palatinate*, was likewise taken, with many others both of Horse and Foot. This famous Battle was fought on the second Day of July. *Cromwell* was greatly cry'd up for his Bravery and Conduct, and gain'd the Name of *Iron-sides* from the impenetrable Strength of his Troops, which could by no Means be broken or divided. Prince *Rupert* and his Confederates being thus defeated, they quarrel'd among themselves, one reproaching the other for this Mis-carriage; whereupon the Earl of *Newcastle*, and others of Quality, departed out of the Kingdom. The Siege of *York* was now renew'd, which City despairing of fresh Succours, was soon surrender'd to the Parliament by Sir *Thomas Glemham*, who had been left sole Governor of it.

1644.

## C H A P. III.

*From the Battle of Marston-Moor to the  
Battle of Naseby.*

CROMWELL began now to be very much taken notice of, some admiring and others envying his great Success, and dreading his aspiring Temper and enterprizing Genius. The Lord General Essex and the Scotch Commissioners were particularly jealous of him, so that they were once in Consultation, together with Mr. Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Meyrick, and others, how to get rid of him, and sent to Serjeant Maynard and Whitelock about it; who being come, the Earl of Essex told them, that he had sent for them to have their Advice and Counsel upon a Matter of great Importance to both Kingdoms; whereupon, at his Desire, the Chancellor of Scotland spake to them, in the Scotch Dialect, as follows:

*Mr. Maynard and Mr. Whitelock, I can assure you of the great Opinion both my Brethren and self for Lowden's Speech against him have of your Worth and Abilities, else we should not have desir'd this Meeting with you: And since it is his Excellency's Pleasure, that I should acquaint you with the Matter upon whilk your Counsel is desir'd, I shall obey his Command, and briefly recite the Busness to you.*

*You ken vary weeble, that Lieutenant-General Cromwell is no Friend of ours; and since the Advance of our Army into England, he has us'd all under-hand and cunning means to tak off from our Honour, and Merit of this Kingdom, an evil Re-quital*

1644. quital of our Hazards and Services; but so it is, and we are nevertheless fully satisfy'd of the Affections and Gratitude of the gude People of the Nation in general.

It is thought requisite for us, and for carrying on the Cause of the twa Kingdoms, that this Obstacle or Remora be remov'd out of the way, whom we foresee will be no small Impediment to us in the gude Design we have undertaken.

He not only is no Friend to us and the Government of our Church, but he is also no well-willer to his Excellency, whom you and we have all Cause to love and honour; and if he be permitted to go on this Way, it may, I fear, endanger the whole Business; therefore we are to advise of some Course to be taken for Prevention of this Mischief.

You ken vary weele the Accord betwixt the twa Nations, and the Union by the Soleman League and Covenant; and if any be an Incendiary between the twa Nations, how he is to be proceeded against. Now the Matter is, wherein we desire your Opinions, what you tak the meaning of the Word Incendiary to be, and whether the Lieutenant-General be not sick an Incendiary, as is meant thereby; and whilk way wud be best to tak to proceed against him, if he be prov'd sick an Incendiary, that we may clepe his Wings from soaring to the prejudice of our Cause.

Now you may ken, that by our Law in Scotland, we clepe him an Incendiary wha kindleth Coals of Contention, and raiseth Differences in the State, to the publick Damage; and he is tanquam publicus hostis patriæ. Whether your Law be the same or not, you ken best, who are mickle learned therein, and therefore we desire your Judgments in these Points.

To this Mr. Whitelock answer'd, " That the sense of the Word *Incendiary*, was the same here

1644.

" here as in *Scotland*; but whether Lieutenant General *Cromwell* be such an Incendiary must be prov'd, either by his Words or Actions: That he look'd upon him to be a Gentleman of quick and subtle Parts, and who had a great Interest in both Houses of Parliament, and that it would be needful to collect such particular Passages concerning him, as might be sufficient to prove him an Incendiary, before they could expect the Parliament should proceed against him." Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and some others, gave an Account of some particular Passages and Words of *Cromwell's*, and said, that he had not that Interest in the Parliament as was suppos'd; and they would willingly have been upon the Accusation of him; but the Scotch Commissioners were not so ready to join with them in it, and so the Lieutenant General escap'd.

*CROMWELL* was now also very much dreaded by the King's Party. His Majesty being at *Oxford*, was willing to have the particular Advice of that known Statesman Arch-bishop *Williams*; and so wrote to him at *Aberconway* in *Wales* to come to him. The Arch-bishop accordingly waiting on the King, advis'd him by all means to come to an Agreement with the Parliament; for since the *Scots* were come into *England* in such numerous Armies, and the *English* of the Parliament's Party, in these two last Years, had acquir'd a Military Knowledge, it would in all appearance, be impossible for the King long to resist their Forces. But above all, he warned him to have a Care of Archbp. *Cromwell*, declaring him to be the most dangerous Williams Enemy the King had; and therefore humbly moved, that either he wou'd win him over to his Side by Promises of fair Treatment, or catch him by some Stratagem, and cut him short. This is said to have made such an Impression on the King, that he was heard to say, *I would some would do me*

1644. me the good Service to bring Cromwell to me alive  
 or dead.

*A*BOUT four Months after the Fight at *Mars-ton-moor*, happen'd the second Battle of *Newbu-ry*, where *Cromwell* is said to have endanger'd the King's Person, had not the Earl of *Cleveland* in-Difference terpos'd, and bore off the pursuit. This Battle between him and the Earl of *Manchester*. *Crom-well* accus'd the Earl of cowardly betraying the *Parliament*, for that he might very easily have de-feated the King's Army, when he drew off his Cannon, if he would have suffer'd him with his own Brigade, to have charg'd them in their Re-treat ; but that the Earl obstinately oppos'd all Advice and Importunity, giving no other Reason, than *That if he did overthrow the King's Army, the King would always have another to keep up the War ; but if his Army should be overthrown at that nice Juncture, they should be all Rebels and Trai-tors, and executed and forfeited by the Law*. This last Expression was heniously taken by the Parlia-ment, as if the Earl believ'd the Law was against them, after they had so often declar'd, That the Law was on their Side. The Earl acknowledg'd,

" That he had in effect said, *That they would be treated as Traytors if their Army was defeated*, " when he dislik'd the Lieutenant General's Ad-vice, in exposing the Army to an unsea-sona-ble hazard." And then recriminating upon his Adversary, said, " That at another Time, *Crom-well* freely discoursing with him of the State of the Kingdom, and proposing an Expedient, the Earl answer'd, That the Parliament would never approve it ; to which *Cromwell* immedi-ately reply'd, *My Lord, if you will stick firm to honest Men, you will find an Army at your Com-mand, that will give the Law to King and Par-liament* : Which Discourse, he said, made a

" great

" great Impression upon him; and finding him a 1644.  
" Man of very deep Designs, he was the more  
" careful to preserve an Army, which he believ'd  
" still faithful to the Parliament." These Matters  
were never thoroughly examin'd, tho' the Animo-  
sities encreased, and the Parties on both Sides open-  
ly appear'd against each other, to the dividing of  
the City, as well as of the Parliament.

A mighty Party in the Parliament began now to be dissatisfy'd with their old Generals, thinking them too much inclin'd to a Peace with the King, and too great Favourers of the Presbyterian Par-  
ty. Hereupon they are for having the Army new model'd; and that their old Friends might be the more civilly dismissed from their Military Pofts,  
they endeavour to procure an Ordinance, for in-  
capacitating all Members of Parliament for such  
Pofts. *Cromwell* was a great Promoter of this  
Design, and after some had led the Way, made  
Speech in the House for that Purpose, decla-  
ning, " That there were many Things, upon His  
which he never reflected before, yet upon Re-  
consideration, he could not but own that all was  
very true; and till there was a perfect Refor-  
mation in those Particulars recommended to denving  
them, nothing they took in hand would prof-  
per: That the Parliament had done wisely in  
the beginning of the War, to engage many of  
their Members in the most dangerous Parts of  
it, that the Nation might see they design'd not  
to embark others in Perils, whilst themselves  
sat securely out of Gun-shot, but would march  
with them where the Danger most threat-  
én'd; and those honourable Persons, who had  
thus expos'd themselves, had merited so  
much of their Country, that their Memories  
would be held in perpetual Veneration; and  
whatever should be well done after them, would  
be imputed to their Example. But now God  
C " had

1644. " had so blessed their Army, that there had grown up with it many excellent Officers, who were fitter for much greater Charges than they now enjoy'd; therefore he desir'd them not to be terrify'd with an Imagination, that they should want able Men to fill the greatest Vacancy; for besides that it was not good to put so much Trust in any Arm of Flesh, as to think such a Cause as this depended upon any one Man, so he assur'd them, that they had Officers in their Army, who were fit to be Generals in any Enterprize in *Christendom.*" He added, " He thought nothing so necessary as to vindicate the Parliament from Partiality towards their own Members; and proffered to lay down his own Commission in the Army, and desir'd That an Ordinance might be prepar'd, to make it unlawful for any Member of either House to hold any Office in the Army, or any Place in the State;" and so concluded with an Enlargement upon the Vices and Corruptions crept into the Army, and freely told them, " That till the whole Army were new modelld, and brought under stricter Discipline, they must not expect any remarkable Success in any Undertaking." In Conclusion, a Committee was appointed to prepare an Ordinance for the Exclusion of all Members from the fore mention'd Trusts which took up much Time, and was long debated but in the End pass'd, and was call'd the *Self-denying Ordinance.*

He joins with *Waller*, and writes to the Parliament.

SOME Time before, *Cromwell* had Orders from the House to march with all Speed into the West, to join with Sir *William Waller*; which he accordingly did, and being join'd, they beat up *Goring's* Quarters, who therupon fled to *Exeter*. It seems there had been some Behaviour in *Cromwell's* Regiment, that gave Offence to the Parliament; for he now sent a Letter to the House

House, informing them, "That since his coming to his Regiment, their Carriage had been <sup>1644.</sup> obedient, respective, and valiant; a good Testimony whereof they gave in the late Defeat of Long's Regiment: That they were sorry for their former mutinous Carriage, and desir'd him to send their most humble Petition to both Houses, *That they might again be receiv'd into their Favour, and their former Offence fully pardon'd; promising a valiant Testimony of their future Service:*" Which Petition was well accepted by the Parliament. After this, he march'd to Cerne in Dorsetshire, where he was join'd by the Colonels Holborn and Braham. The Enemy coming within three Miles of them undiscover'd, Cromwell drew into the champion there, with Design to fight them, so superior to him in Number; which they receiving, drew off; and Cromwell was farther infor'd by the Regiments of Norton and Took, &c.

UPON the passing of the *Self-denying Ordinance*, 1645. the Army, which had been much diminish'd by Sicknes and a late Defeat in the West, my new is order'd to be recruited to one and twenty thousand Men, namely, fourteen thousand Foot, thousand Horse, and one thousand Dragoons; Sir Thomas Fairfax was commission'd General.

They who were remov'd from their Commands in the Army by this Ordinance, were the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Manchester, the Earl of Denbigh, the Earl of Warwick, Sir William Waller, Lord Gray of Grooby, Major-General Maffy, &c. Cromwell was likewise to have his Command, and came to Windsor to take leave of the new General; but such Interest had been made in the Committee of both Kingdoms Westminster, or they were so sensible of his Talent for War, that they had sent Orders.

1645. ders to General *Fairfax* to detach a Party of Horse to lie between *Oxford* and *Worcester*, for intercepting the Correspondence between the King and Prince *Rupert*, and particularly recommended Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* for that Service; who went away with a good Party of Horse and Dragoons, and defeated a Brigade of the King's Horse at *Islip-Bridge*, kill'd Success at several, and took five hundred Horse, and two hundred Prisoners, whereof several were Officers and Persons of Quality, as also the Queen's Standard, besides many other Trophies of Honour.

He pursued the routed Remnant to *Blenching-ton-House*, where Colonel *Windebank* commanded; who being summon'd by victorious *Cromwell*, and persuaded by his beautiful young Bride and the Ladies that came to visit her, surrendered the Place, with all the Arms and Ammunition; for which he was shot to Death at *Oxford* by Sentence of a Council of War.

His farther Success. ABOUT the same Time also, *Cromwell* fortify'd Sir *William Vaughan* and Lieutenant Colonel *Littleton*, with three Hundred and fifty Men into *Bampton-Bush*, where he took them both and two hundred of their Men Prisoners, with their Arms; and sent Colonel *Fiennes* after another Party, who took a Hundred and fifty Horse, three Colonels, and forty common Soldiers Prisoners, with their Arms. Being afterwards re-infor'd by about five hundred Forces from Colonel *Brown*, *Cromwell* attempted to reduce *Faringdon-House*, and stormed it but it was so gallantly defended by Sir George *Lisle*, that he was forc'd to draw off, having lost fifty of his Men; and in his Retreat he was attack'd by a Party of Lieutenant *Goring*'s Horse lately come from the Siege of *Taunton*, who

from him three Colours, and took Major *Bethel* 1645.  
Prisoner.

IT was now order'd by both Houses, that Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* should be dispens'd with for his personal Attendance in the House, and continue his Service and Command in the Army, for forty Days longer, notwithstanding the late Ordinance. This, says *Whitelock*, was much spoken against by *Essex's* Party, as a Breach of that Ordinance, and a Discovery of the Intention to continue whom they pleas'd, and to remove the others from Commands, notwithstanding their former *Self-denying Pretences*.

THE Lord-General *Fairfax* began his March in order to relieve *Taunton*. But the Committee of both Kingdoms, understanding that Prince *Rupert* was advancing towards *Oxford*, order'd him to stop his March, and to send only Party of about three Thousand Foot, and fifteen Hundred Horse to *Taunton*, whilst he with the rest of his Army march'd back to join *Cromwell* and *Brown*, that they might attend the King's Motions with their united Forces. The King being join'd by Prince *Rupert*, march'd into *Worcestershire*, and design'd to relieve *Chester*, which had been a great while besieged by the Parliament's Forces under Sir *William Brereton*; who, when the King was come within twenty Miles of *Chester*, rais'd his Siege, and return'd to *Lancashire*. Upon this, the King diverted his Course towards *Leicester*, and coming before the Place, took it by Storm.

IN the mean Time the Lords and Commons agreed with the Committee of both Kingdoms, that General *Fairfax* should invest *Oxford*, that important Head-Quarter of the King. Accordingly the General brought up his Army near *Oxford* and laid Siege to it, having his own garters at *Marston*, *Cromwell* at *Wileham*, and *Brown*

1645. Brown at *Wolvercote*. After fifteen Days spent without Action, the Parliament being startled at the Loss of *Leicester*, sent express Orders to *Fairfax* to march away with his Army; which he accordingly did on the ninth of June.

*Is made  
Lieuten-  
ant Gene-  
ral of the  
Horse, not  
withstan-  
ding the  
self-deny-  
ing Ordin-  
nance.*

THE King was marching from *Leicester* with Design to relieve *Oxford*; but hearing the Siege was rais'd, he returned towards *Northampton*, causing great Terror to the associated Parts. *Cromwell*, before the breaking up of the Siege, had been call'd from thence to the Isle of *Ely*, to support the Association, and was shortly to attend his Place in Parliament, according to the late Ordinance: But upon a Resolution of the Council of War, the General wrote to them, desiring them to dispense with *Cromwell's* Absence from the House, and to appoint him Lieutenant-General of the Horse. The Parliament being sensible of his great Usefulness in the Field, readily comply'd with this Request, and accordingly commission'd him Lieutenant-General of Horse to the whole Army. Hereupon *Cromwell* being recruited with six hundred Horse and Dragoons, came out of the associated Parts, and join'd with *Fairfax* and his main Army at *Gilsborough*. *Whitelock* says, he now began to increase in the Favour of the People, and of the Army, and to grow great even to the Envy of many.

THE King having tarried a little at *Borough Hill*, drew off from thence towards *Harborough* and design'd to march to *Pomfret*, thinking if he were follow'd by the Parliament's Forces, he should fight with greater Advantage Northward. But *Ireton*, by *Cromwell's* Advice, being sent out with a flying Party of Horse, fell upon a Party of the King's Rere, quarter'd in *Naseby* Town, and took many Prisoners, some of Prince *Rupert's* Life-Guard, and *Langdale's* Brigade; which gave

such an Alarm to the whole royal Army, that 1645.  
 the King at Mid-night left his own Quarters,  
 and for Security hastened to *Harborough*, where  
 the Van of his Army lay. Here calling up Prince  
*Rupert*, he summoned a Council of War, in which  
 it was resolv'd (chiefly thro' the Prince's eager-  
 ness, old Commanders being much against it) to  
 give the Enemy Battle; and since *Fairfax* had  
 been so forward, they would no longer stay for  
 him but seek him out. Accordingly being come  
 near *Naseby*, there they found him; and both  
 Armies being drawn up in Battalia, fac'd each  
 other. Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* com-  
 manded the right Wing of the royal Army, Sir  
*Marmaduke Langdale* the left, and the King  
 himself the main Body; the Earl of *Lindsey*,  
 and *Jacob Lord Astley*, the right Hand Reserve,  
 and the *Lord Bard*, and *Sir George Lisle*, the  
 left Reserve. The right Wing of the Parlia-  
 ment's Army was led by Lieutenant-General  
*Cromwell*, the left by Colonel *Ireton*, the main  
 Body by General *Fairfax* and Major-General  
*Skippon*, who fought stoutly, tho' sorely wound-  
 ed in the Beginning of the Fight; and the  
 Reserves were brought up by *Rainsborough*, *Ham-  
 mond*, and *Pride*. The Place of Action was a  
 large fallow Field, on the North-West Side of  
*Naseby*, above a Mile broad; which Space of  
 Ground was wholly taken up by the two Armies.

ALL Things being dispos'd, on June 14, at The Bat-  
 ten in the Morning, the Battle began with more  
 than civil Rage; the Royalists Word being  
*God and Queen Mary*, and the others, *God with  
 us*. Prince *Rupert* gave the first Charge, and en-  
 gaged the Parliament's left Wing with great Re-  
 solution. *Ireton* made gallant Resistance, but  
 was forced at last to give Ground, his Horse be-  
 ing shot under him, and himself run thro' the  
 Thigh with a Pike, and into the Face with a

1645. Halbert, and taken Prisoner, till upon the turn of the Battle he regain'd his Liberty. The Prince chas'd the Enemy almost to *Naseby* Town, and in his Return summon'd the Train, and visited the Carriages, where was good Plunder; but here, as in the Battle of *Marston-Moor*, his long Stay so far from the main Body, was no small prejudice to the King's Army.

And his  
Success  
there.

FOR *Cromwell* in the mean Time charg'd furiously on the King's left Wing, and that with good Success, forcing them from the Body, and prosecuting the Advantage, quite broke them, and their Reserve: After which, joining with *Fairfax*, he charg'd the King's Foot, who had beaten the Parliament's and got Possession of their Ordnance, and thought themselves sure of the Victory; but being now in Confusion, and having no Horse to support them, they were easily overborn by *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*. By this Time the King was join'd by Prince *Rupert*, return'd from his fatal Success; but the Horse could never be brought to rally themselves again in Order, or to charge the Enemy: Upon which

Good Disciplin of the Troops under him and Fairfax. the Lord *Clarendon* says, That Difference was observ'd all along in the Discipline of the King's Troops, and of those under *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, (it having never been remarkable under *Essex* or *Waller*, but only under them) That tho' the King's Troops prevailed in the Charge, and routed those they charged, they seldom rally'd themselves again in Order, nor could be brought to make a second Charge again the same Day; which was the Reason that they had not an entire Victory at *Edge-Hill*; whereas the Troops under *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, if they prevailed, or tho' they were beaten and routed, presently rally'd again, and stood in good Order, till they received further Directions. In fine, with all that the King and Prince could do, they could

not rally their broken Troops, which stood in sufficient Numbers upon the Place ; so that they were forced at last to quit the Field, leaving a compleat Victory to the Parliament's Party, who pursued them within two Miles of *Leicester* ; and the King finding the Pursuit so hot, fled from thence to *Ashby-de-la-zouch*, and then to *Litchfield*, and so for a safer Retreat into *Wales*.

THUS ended the famous Battle of *Naseby*, Victory in which the wonderful Success of the Parliament Party was chiefly owing to *Cromwell's* Valour and good Conduct, who flew like Lightning from one Part of the Army to the other, and break thro' the Enemies Squadrons with such Rapidity, that nothing either could, or durst stop him. 'Tis said, that in this Action, a Commander of the King's knowing *Cromwell*, advanc'd briskly from the Head of his Troops, to exchange a single Bullet with him, and was with equal Bravery encounter'd by him, both sides forbearing to come in, till their Pistols being discharg'd, the Cavalier with a flaunting back Blow of a broad Sword, chanc'd to cut the Ribbon that tied *Cromwell's* Murrion, and with a draw threw it off his Head ; and now just going to repeat his Stroak, *Cromwell's* Party came in and rescu'd him ; and one of them alighting, threw up his Head-piece into his Saddle, which he hastily catching, clapt it on the wrong Way, and so bravely fought with it the rest of the Day, which prov'd so very fortunate on his Side.

THE King's Loss in this Battle was irreparable ; for besides that there were slain above a hundred and fifty Officers, and Gentlemen of Quality, most of his Foot were taken Prisoners, with all his Cannon and Baggage, and eight Thousand Arms and other rich Booty ; among which was also his Majesty's own Cabinet, where were reposit'd his most secret Papers, and

1645. and Letters between him and his Queen, which shew'd how contrary his Counsels with her were to those he declar'd to the Kingdom ; for in one of them he declares his Intention, *to make Peace with the Irish, and to have forty Thousand of them over into England to prosecute the War here*; and in another he complains, That he could not prevail with his mngrel Parliament at Oxford, *to vote that the two Houses at Westminister, were not a lawful Parliament*; so little Thanks, Coke. as one observes, who was no Enemy to his Majesty, had these noble Lords and Gentlemen, for exposing their Lives and Fortunes in Defense of the King in his Adversity; what then might they expe&t, if he should prevail by Conquest? In those Letters also, he tells the Queen, *That he would not make a Peace with the Rebels [the Parliament] without her Approbation, nor go one Jot from the Paper she sent him: That in the Treaty at Uxbridge, he did not positively own the Parliament, it being otherwise to be construed, tho' they were so simple as not to find it out; and that it was recorded in the Notes of the King's Council, That he did not acknowledge them a Parliament.* These and many other Papers relating to the Publick, were printed with Observations, and kept upon Record, by Order of the two Houses, who also made a publick Declaration of them, shewing what the Nobility and Gentry, who follow'd the King, were to expect.



## C H A P. IV.

*From the Battle of Naseby, to the Conclusion of the first civil War.*

THE Battle of *Naseby* was truly a deciding Battle; for from this grand Period, the King's Affairs became desperate, and his whole Party began to moulder away, and most sensibly to decline every where. The Parliament's Army had no sooner gain'd this wonderful Advantage, but like a Torrent they soon overflow'd the whole Kingdom, bearing down all before them. *Leicester* was immediately regained without any considerable Opposition. From thence they march'd to the Relief of *Taunton*, which being besieg'd by *Goring*'s Army, had made a wonderful Resistance under the Command of the valiant *Blake*. Upon the Approach of the Parliament's Forces, *Goring* drew off his Army towards *Langport*; and being Master of the several Passes on the River, hop'd to have declin'd fighting, and secur'd his Retreat towards *Bridgewater*: But the others drew down their Ordnance with such Advantage, that whilst they did great Execution on *Goring*'s Army, their Foot resolutely gain'd the Pass, and the Horse advanc'd over; when they so bravely engag'd the Enemy, that they soon put them to flight, charging them almost to *Bridgewater*. Cromwell's Conduct in the Battle of Langport, with

1645. with such Success, that he took almost all their  
Foot and Ordnance.

*Bridge-* AFTER this Victory, 'twas resolved in a Coun-  
*water ta-* cil of War, to storm the strong Garrison of  
*ken.* Bridgewater. Accordingly they began the As-  
fault on the 22d of July, and forc'd a Sur-  
render the very next Day. The taking of  
this Place was a very great Advantage to the Par-  
liament; for thereby a Line of Garisons was  
drawn over the Country from the Severn to the  
South Coasts, by Bridgewater, Taunton, Lime and  
Langport; whereby the Counties of Devon  
and Cornwall, then wholly at the King's De-  
votion, except Plymouth, were in a manner  
block'd up from all intercourse with the East-  
ern Parts.

*Cromwell* THE merciless Rapines and Violence practis'd  
suppesses by the Royalists in the Western Parts, had oc-  
the Club. casion'd the rising of a third Kind of Army,  
Men. which suddenly starting up in divers Counties,  
assembled to the Number of five or six Thou-  
sand of the middle Sort of Men. These soon  
had the Name of Club-Men, and were encou-  
raged by several Gentlemen of the Country, who  
entertain'd particular Hopes from this Insurrec-  
tion. This Army of Club-Men for some Time  
became very formidable to both Parties, each  
of them endeavouring to gain them over to  
themselves. But having for some Months  
stood upon their own Defence, and molested  
both Armies, they were at last very seasonably  
suppress'd and dispers'd by the Parliament For-  
ces under Lieutenant-General Cromwell; who,  
together with Fairfax, daily gain'd Ground in  
those Parts.

*Assists at* BRISTOL was a Place of very great Impos-  
*the Siege* tance, which Prince Rupert, with about five  
*of Bristol.* thousand Horse and Foot, held for the King.

It was now therefore thought requisite to be-

*siege*

siege it for the Parliament, and accordingly  
 the Army was drawn up towards it. The Ge- 1645:  
 neral being come before it, sommon'd Prince  
*Rupert* to deliver up the Town; but upon his  
 Refusal, it was advis'd by *Cromwell* and some  
 other chief Officers to storm part of it: Which  
 accordingly was executed with so much Fury,  
 that the Prince thought not fit to run the  
 Hazard of a second Assault, but immediately  
 surrend'red that great and well fortify'd City  
 to the Parliament General; whereby the King  
 lost all his chief Magazines and warlike Pro-  
 visions, and consequently in a short Time South-  
 Wales and all the West of England. Upon this  
 His Majesty wrote a sharp Letter to Prince *Ru-*  
*pert*, in which he says, *I must remember you*  
*of yours of the 12th of August*, whereby you  
*assur'd me, That if no Mutiny happened, you would*  
*keep Bristol for four Months; did you keep it four*  
*Days? Was there any thing like a Mutiny?*  
*My Conclusion is, to desire you to seek your*  
*Subsistence, until it shall please God to deter-*  
*mine of my Condition, some where beyond Seas;*  
*to which End I send you herewith a Pass,*  
*&c.*

*FAIRFAX* and *Cromwell* sent Letters to the Writers to  
 Parliament, relating the Particulars of the Siege of the Parli-  
*Bristol*; and in *Cromwell's* there was this Pas-  
 sage: *It may be thought that some Praises are due*  
*to those gallant Men, of whose Valour so much*  
*mention is made: Their humble Suit to you, and*  
*all that have an Interest in this Blessing, is, that*  
*in Remembrance of God's Praises, they may be*  
*forgotten. It's their Joy that they are Instruments*  
*to God's Glory, and their Country's Good: It's their*  
*Honour that God vouchsafes to use them. Sir, they*  
*that have been employ'd in this Service, know,*  
*That Faith and Prayers obtain'd this City for you.*

1645. *BRISTOL* being thus reduc'd, *Cromwell* presently takes with him a Brigade of four Regiments, and marches to the strong Castle of the *Devizes*, whose natural Strength was much improv'd by the Ingenuity of its Governour, Sir *Charles Lloyd*, who looking upon it to be almost impregnable, return'd no other Answer to *Cromwell's* first Summons, but *Win it and wear it*. But as if nothing could be a sufficient Defence against this victorious Commander, whose very Name began now to strike Terror to his Enemies, the Governour was soon brought to Terms, and forc'd to deliver up the Place to him.

*Reduces Winchester.* AFTER this, *Cromwell* hastens to *Winchester*, and in his March disarms and disperses the *Hampshire Club-Men* thereabouts. Being come before the Town, he found it fortify'd; but after a short Dispute, he fir'd the Gate, and his Men enter'd. This done, he sommon'd the Castle; which not surrendering, he planted six Guns, and after firing them round, sent a second Summons for a Treaty, which they also refus'd. Upon this, he made a Breach with two hundred shot, and then the Governour thought fit to beat a Parley, which was granted; and Colonel *Hammond* and Major *Harrison* for *Cromwell*, agreed upon Articles for delivering up the Castle into the Hands of the Parliament. Here an Instance is given of *Cromwell's* Faithfulness in his punctual Observance of Articles; for 'tis said, that being inform'd, that some of his Men had been faulty in this Respect, he caus'd one of them to be hang'd to the Terror of others, and sent the rest to *Oxford*, that the Governour Sir *Thomas Glemham* might punish them as he thought fit; who is said with generous Ac-

know-

knowledgments to return them to *Cromwell* a-<sup>1645.</sup>

His next Attempt was upon *Basing-House*,<sup>Storms and takes</sup> a very strong Place. It was the Mansion of the Marquess of *Winchester*, standing on a rising Ground, and encompass'd with a Brick-Rampart lined with Earth, having a deep dry Ditch surrounding it. Here the Marques's stood upon his Guard, assisted at first only with his own Family and a hundred Musketeers from *Oxford*; but recruited afterwards by the King from time to time, as there was Occasion. This Garrison had been often assaulted, but in vain; first by Colonel *Norton* and Colonel *Harvy*; next, by Sir *William Waller* with seven thousand Horse and Foot; who, tho' many then called him *William the Conqueror*, did little more than increase the Courage of the Besieged, who made many furious Sallies upon him. Thus the Place stood for some Years out-braving all Attempts, 'till the valiant *Cromwell* endeavour'd the reducing of it, which he very soon effected; for having seen Sir *William Ogle* the late Governour of *Winchester*, march out according to Articles, and settled the Affairs of that Garrison for the parliament, he the next Day march'd for *Basing*; where being arriv'd, after planting the batteries, and settling the several Posts for a storm, his Men fell on with great Resolution. Colonel *Pickering* storm'd the new House, and passing through, got the Gate of the old House; whereupon they beat a Parley, which the Parliament Soldiers would not regard. In the mean time, Colonel *Montague*'s and Sir *Hardress Waller*'s Regiments recover'd the strongest Work, and beat the Enemy from a whole Culverin. Then they drew their Ladders after them, and got over another Work, and the House-Wall, be-

1645. before they could enter. Thus was the Place reduc'd with very little Loss on the Parliament's Side. Seventy four of the Royalists were slain, among whom were some Officers of Quality. Two hundred were taken Prisoners, among whom was the Marquess himself, Sir Robert Peak, and several other Officers, whom Cromwell sent up to the Parliament. They took about ten Pieces of Ordnance, with a good Quantity of Ammunition and Provisions, and there was rich Pillage for the Soldiers, of Money, Jewels, Household-stuff, &c. For these important Services, the House order'd a Letter of Thanks to be drawn up to the Lieutenant-General.

*Gains Langford-House.* THE next Place Cromwell visited, was *Langford-House* near *Salisbury*; but they within having had Information of what he had done at *Basing*, and expecting no better Success, submitted at the first Summons.

*Marches towards Exeter.* FROM hence he march'd toward the main Body of the Army, which was then moving towards *Exeter*, with a Design to lay Siege to it: Where being arriv'd, he advanc'd farther westward towards the Enemy, and at *Bav-Tracy* fought the Brigade commanded by the Lord *Wentworth*, taking four hundred Horse and about a hundred Foot, Prisoners, with six Standards, one of which was the King's.

*Dartmouth to Torrington.* THE Design upon *Exeter* being for the present laid aside, the Army under *Fairfax* and *Storm*; and the Lord *Hopton* him an absolute Defeat; and then pursu'd the only Remains of a royal Army into *Cornwall*, where Prince *Charles* had his own Regiment and other *Cornish* Troops, which compos'd Bed-

Body of about five thousand Horse, and one thousand Foot: But not able to resist the Multitudes that the Parliamentarians were pouring upon him, he embarked with several Lords and Gentlemen, and found Refuge in the Isle of Scilly. His Troops were left under the Command of the Lord Hopton, who was so pres'd upon by the Parliament's Forces, that he was obliged to disband on the 14th of March; soon after which Exeter was surrendere'd to the Parliament. And now Lieutenant General Cromwell came up to London from the General, to advise about the future Motion of the Army; and taking his Place in the Parliament, receiv'd the hearty Thanks of the House for his great and faithful Services.

FAIRFAX and Cromwell having thus scowered the West, and only Newark remaining in the North, the King's Affairs were now in a very low and desperate Condition. The Royalists in Oxford had indeed still some little Hopes from a Party commanded by the Lord Astley, which were the only Forces in the Field for the King; but these Hopes soon vanih'd; for being encountered

Colonel Morgan near Stow on the Wold, he was entirely defeated, himself and almost all his men being taken Prisoners. Astley was so sensible of the Consequence of this Defeat, that when he was taken, he said to one of the Parliamentaries, You have now done your Work and may to play, unless you will fall out among yourselves.

THE Parliament Army, flush'd with irrestistible Success, was now marching to besiege Oxford, the King's Head Quarters and Place of his residence; who in this Extremity resolv'd to throw himself into the Hands of the Scotch Army, then lying before Newark. He was advised to do this by Monsieur Montrevil, the French Ambassador, who was then in the Scotch Quarters; and the rather encourag'd to it, because

1646. the Animosities between the *English* Parliament  
 and the *Scots*, were now grown very high, the latter complaining against the former, for their Delays in settling the Presbyterian Government of the Church according to the *Covenant*; and

*King es-  
capes  
from Ox-  
ford to the  
Scotch Ar-  
my.*

for with-holding their Pay. In Pursuance of this Resolution, before the Siege of *Oxford* could be form'd, the King escap'd from thence on the 27th of April. He went away in Disguise, accompany'd only by Dr. *Hudson*, and Mr. *Ashburnham*, and riding as a Servant to the latter, with a Cloak-Bag behind him. They went to *Henry Brentford*, and *Harrow-on-the-Hill*; thence towards *St. Albans*, making their Way to *Harborough*, where they expected Monsieur *Montreuil* who not being there as he had appointed, the King went to *Stamford*, thence to *Downham*, and so to *Southam*; where finding the French Agent he sent to General *Leven*, and was conducted by a Troop of Horse to Lieutenant-General *Left*

*Oxford* and all other Places submit to the Parliament.

*Quarters*. *Oxford* being close block'd up, render'd on the 22d of June, and the few remaining Garisons soon after, viz. *Worcester*, *Wallingford*, *Pendennis-Castle*, and *Ragland-Castle*. The Parliament being inform'd of the King's Escape from *Oxford*, and Arrival in the Scotch Army, were very much startled at it, and sent Order to their Commissioners to demand him of them; requiring also their Army to advance, in order to hinder a Conjunction of the King's Party with the *Scots*, being very jealous of his king Terms with them: But upon their surrendering *Newark* to the *English*, which the King had order'd to be deliver'd up to them, and General *Leven*'s forbidding his Forces to have any Communication with the King's Party, they began to be pretty well satisfy'd for the present, and so the *Scots*, having got the King in their Possession, march'd with him to *Newcastle*, where

he receiv'd the Parliament's Propositions for 1646.  
Peace; which he not agreeing to, they consult how to take him out of the Hands of the *Scots*, to send them out of *England*, and to bring him up into safer Custody. In order to this, they thought it necessary to reckon with the *Scots*, who offer'd to accept of a Sum in gross, for a full Discharge of their Arrears, to be agreed on by Commissioners. These concluded on four hundred thousand Pounds, one Moiety of which to be paid before their going home, and the other King delivered up within stated Terms. The delivering up of the King was a tacit Condition of this Agreement; and accordingly, the *Scots* having received two hundred thousand Pounds, which was sent down to *Holmby-House* brought to them, deliver'd the King, after he had been with them about nine Months, into the Hands of the Parliament's Commissioners, who conducted him to *Holmby-House* in *Northamptonshire*. Upon this Mr. Coke has these Reflexions: Thus this Prince, who before had shifted the worthy Members of Parliament from one Prison to another, that they might have no Benefit of their *Habeas-Corpus*, is himself shifted a Prisoner from one Place to another, without any Hope of an *Habeas-Corpus*: He that before, by his absolute Will and Pleasure, would without any Law seize his Subjects Goods, and commit them to Prison, cannot now enjoy his own Estate in his own House: He that before arbitrarily rais'd Ship-Mony, has not now one Ship to command.



## C H A P. V.

*From the Conclusion of the First and long Civil War, to the King's Seizure at Holmby by the Army.*

Differ-  
ences arise  
between  
the Parlia-  
ment and  
Army.

THE King's Party being subdu'd by the Parliament, who had also got him into their Hands, and the *Scots* having quietly left the Kingdom, and so the long Civil War between the King and the Parliament, which had been maintain'd at the expence of so much Blood and Treasure, being entirely ended, the Victors began now to quarrel amongst themselves; and the Differences and Dissensions in the Parliament and Army, and chiefly between those two Bodies, the Civil and Military Powers, occasion'd a great deal of Uneasiness and Trouble to the Nation. The Foundation of all this were the high Contests between the *Presbyterian* and *Independent* Parties, the one not enduring any Superior, nor the other any Equal. The *Presbyterians* grasp'd at the whole Power, proceeding with equal bitterness against all other Sects, as against the Episcopal Party; and finding themselves superior in both Houses, little doubted of being able to reform the Army and new model it again; which, without doubt, they would have attempted, had not the Death of the Earl of *Essex*, who deceas'd about this Time, prevented them. This Party prevailed very much in the City, so that an Address was presented to the Parliament from the Mayor and Common-Council, wherein after acknowledging the Care of the two Houses in the Reformation

mation of the Church, &c. they desir'd, that such Assemblies as were privately held to introduce new Sects, might be suppress'd, and that those who were distinguish'd by the Name of *Independents*, might be remov'd from all Employments Civil and Military. And as *Cromwell* espous'd the *Independant Party*, the Parliament was particularly jealous of him, and was for taking Measures to dismiss him, and his chief Par-  
*zans*, from their Military Posts. *Cromwell* and he of  
as no less jealous of them, and being aware them.  
of what they design'd, resolv'd to be even with  
them. *Ludlow* tells us, that as he was walking  
with him one Morning in Sir *Robert Cotton's*  
Garden, he inveigh'd bitterly against the Parlia-  
ment, and said familiarly to him, *If thy Father His Dis-*  
*ere alive, he would let some of them bear what course*  
*they deserve*; adding farther, *That it was a mi-*  
*rable thing to serve a Parliament, to whom let a*  
*man be never so faithful, if one pragmatical Fel-*  
*low amongst them rise up and asperse him, he shall*  
*ever wipe it off; whereas, when one serves un-*  
*der a General, he may do as much Service, and*  
*be free from all Blame and Envy.*

ACCORDINGLY from this Time *Cromwell*, secure himself, and prevent the Designs of the *Presbyterians*, made a strong Party for Military Power, for which he had now a fair Opportunity offer'd him: For the *Presbyterian Party*

Parliament, knowing that the Army was mostly inclin'd to the *Independents*, were earnest-desirous to break it; and the better to facilitate this Design, under the Pretence of lessening their great Charge, they resolv'd on the banding of some Troops, and transporting others for the Service of *Ireland*. *Cromwell* having timely notice of this Resolution, he together with *Ireton* insinuated to the Soldiers, that

1647

1647. the Parliament intended to disband them without paying them their Arrears, or else to send them into *Ireland* to die of Sicknes and Fa  
 He pro-  
 motes the  
 Army's  
 Jealousy  
 of the  
 Parlia-  
 ment.

mine. Upon this, the Soldiers broke out into reviling Language against the Parliament; and when the Orders for disbanding some, and transporting others, as before mention'd, were sent down to them, they refus'd to comply with them. The Parliament being inform'd of it, were very much offend'd at this Behaviour of the Army; but the Prudence and Moderation of Major-General Skippon, in reporting the Matter to the House, much abated the Heat of their Resentment; tho' several threatening Expressions came from some of them; which occasion'd *Cromwell*, then in the House, to whisper *Ludlow* in the Ear, saying, *These Men will never leave, till the Army pull them out by the Ears.*

Agitators and Coun-  
 cil of Offi-  
 cers set up by the Ar-  
 my.

THIS Spirit of Opposition being rais'd in the Army, they began now more professedly to enter into Competition with the Parliament, and to claim a Share with them in settling the Kingdom; and that they might be upon a nearer level with them, they made choice of a Number of such Officers as they approv'd, which was call'd the General's Council of Officers, and was to resemble the House of Peers; and three or four out of each Regiment, most Corporals or Serjeants, were chosen by the common Soldiers and call'd *Agitators*, who were to answer to the House of Commons. These two Bodies met severally, and examin'd all the Acts and Orders of the Parliament towards settling the Kingdom and reforming, dividing or disbanding the Army; and after some Consultations, they unanimously resolv'd and declar'd, " That they would not be divided or disbanded, till their full Arrears were paid, and till full Provision

Their Re-  
 solutions. " " w

" not be divided or disbanded, till their full Arrears were paid, and till full Provision

1647.

" was made for Liberty of Conscience; which  
" they said was the Ground of the Quarrel,  
" tho' hitherto there was so little Security pro-  
" vided in that Point, that there was now a grea-  
" ter Persecution against religious and godly Men,  
" than ever had been in the King's Govern-  
" ment, when the Bishops were their Judges."

They added, " That they did not look upon  
" themselves as a Band of Janizaries, hired  
" and entertain'd only to fight their Battles; but  
" that they had voluntarily taken up Arms for  
" the Liberty and Defence of the Nation, of  
" which they were a Part; and before they laid  
" down those Arms, they would see all those  
" Ends well provided for, that the People might  
" not hereafter suffer those Grievances, with  
" which they had formerly been oppress'd."

THREE or four of their own Members being  
sent to the House of Commons with this De-  
claration, they with great Confidence deliver'd  
it at the Bar. And soon after, the Soldiers  
drew up a Vindication of their Proceedings, di-  
recting it to their General; wherein they com-  
plain'd of a Design to disband, and new-model  
the Army; " Which they said, was a Plot con-  
triv'd by some Men, who had lately tasted of  
Sovereignty, and being rais'd above the ordi-  
nary Sphere of Servants, would fain become  
Masters, and were degenerated into Tyrants."  
For which Reason they declar'd, " That they  
would neither be employ'd for the Service of  
Ireland, nor suffer themselves to be disbanded,  
till their Desires were obtain'd, and the Sub-  
jects Rights and Liberties should be vindicated  
and secur'd." This Paper being sign'd by  
many inferior Officers, the Parliament declar'd  
them Enemies to the State, imprisoning some of  
them who talk'd loudest: Whereupon they drew  
up another Address to their General, complain-  
D 4 ing,

1647. ing, " How disdainfully they were us'd by the  
 " Parliament, for whom they had ventur'd  
 " their Lives, and spilt their Blood ; that the  
 " Privileges due to them as Soldiers, and as Sub-  
 " jects, were taken from them ; and when they  
 " complain'd of the Injuries done to them, they  
 " were abus'd, beaten, and imprison'd."

*Cromwell General in Fact, Fairfax only in Name.*

UPON this *Fairfax* (who was indeed a *Presbyterian*, but was only General in Name, *Cromwell* having got the ascendant over him, and having the sole Influence upon the Army, which he manag'd as he pleas'd) was prevail'd with to write a Letter to a Member of Parliament, who read it to the House ; wherein he took notice of several Petitions, which were prepar'd in the City of *London*, and other Places, against the Army ; adding, " That it was look'd upon as " strange, that the Officers of the Army might " not be permitted to petition, when so many " Petitions were receiv'd against them ; and that " he much doubted, that the Army might draw " to a Rendezvous, and think of taking some o- " ther Course for their own Vindication."

THE Parliament was exceedingly troubled at these Proceedings of the Army. However, they resolv'd not to submit to, or be govern'd by thole who were their Servants, and liv'd upon their Pay : And therefore, after many severe Expressions against the Presumptions of several Officers and Soldiers, they declar'd, " That whosoever should refuse, being commanded, to engage in the Service of *Ireland*, should be disbanded." But the Army would by no means recede from the Resolutions they had taken, and falling into a direct and high Mutiny, call'd for the Arrears due to them, *which they knew where, and how to levy for themselves* ; nor would they be at all pacify'd, till the Declaration of the Parliament against them was rased out of their Journal-Book, and

and a Month's Pay sent to them: Nor did this satisfy them, but they still gave out, "That they knew how to make themselves as considerable as the Parliament, and where to have their Service better esteem'd and requited." This so startled the Parliament, that they sent a Committee of the Lords and Commons, some whereof were not at all ungrateful to the Army, to treat with a Committee of Officers, upon the best Means to be used, for composing these Differences. By which Method of Proceeding, the Army seem'd to be put upon a Level with the Parliament; and this also dispos'd General Fairfax to a greater Concurrence with the Humour of the Army, when he saw it was so much comply'd with, and submitted to by all Men.

CROMWELL hitherto thought it necessary to keep himself as fair with the Parliament as possible; for which purpose, having a rare knack at Dissimulation, he would seem highly displeas'd with the Insolence of the Soldiers, and being fill in the House of Commons, when any of their addresses were presented, inveigh'd bitterly against their Presumption. He also propos'd, That the General might be sent down to the Army; who, he said, would soon conjure down this turbulent Spirit: And he was so easily believ'd, that he himself was once or twice sent to reduce em to Order; and having staid two or three days with them, he would again return to the Parliament, and make heavy Complaints "of the great License that was got into the Army; that, for his own part, by the Artifice of his Enemies, and of those who desired that the Nation should be again imbru'd in Blood, he was render'd so odious to them, that they had design'd to kill him, if he had not timely escap'd out of their Hands." But notwithstanding this, he was greatly suspected by many, of

A Committee of  
the Parlia-  
ment  
sent to  
treat with  
a Com-  
mittee of  
the Army

1647. of having under-hand encourag'd the Army's Proceedings; and the most active Officers and Agitators were believ'd to be his own Creatures, who would do nothing without his Direction: So that it was privately resolv'd by the chief Members of the House of Commons, that when he sign of sei- zing him, came the next Day into the House, which he sel-dom fail'd to do, they would send him to the Tower.

THIS Design could not be manag'd so secretly, but Cromwell got Intelligence of it; and so when Which he the House the next Day expected every Minute escapes.

His Let-  
ter to the  
Parlia-  
ment.

to see him come in, they had Notice given them, that he was met out of the Town by break of Day, with only one Servant, making what haste he could towards the Army, where he had order'd a Rendezvous of some Regiments of the Horse, and from whence he sent a Letter to the House of Commons, to acquaint them, " That " having the Night before receiv'd a Letter from " some Offices of his own Regiment, That the " Jealousy the Troops had conceiv'd of him, " and of his want of Kindness towards them, was " much abated, so that they believed, if he would " forthwith come down to them, they would all " by his Advice be soon reclaim'd; upon this " he had made all the haste he could, and did " find, that the Soldiers had been abus'd by Mis- " information; and that he hop'd to discover the " Fountain from whence it sprung; and in the " mean Time desir'd, that the General, and the " other Officers in the House, or such as remained " about the Town, might be immediately sent " to their Quarters; and he believ'd it would be " very requisite, in order to the Suppression of " the late Distempers, and for the Prevention of " the like for the future, to have a general Re- " dezvous of the Army, of which the General " would

" would best consider, when he came down; which  
" he wish'd might be hasten'd." 1647.

THIS Account of *Cromwell's Management with the Parliament*, leads me to insert here what Sir <sup>Sir Har-</sup>*Harbottle Grimston* related to Bishop *Burnet*, con-<sup>bottle</sup>*Grimston'scerning him*, as we have it in the first Volume of Story the Bishop's History, p. 45. During the Contests concern-<sup>ing him.</sup>  
between the Army and the Parliament, (for we cannot exactly assign the Time when this happen'd) two Officers brought an Account to *Grimston*, that at a Meeting of the Officers, it being propos'd to purge the Army better, that they might know whom to confide in; *Cromwell* thereupon said, he was sure of the Army, but there was another Body that wanted more to be purg'd, namely the House of Commons, and he believ'd the Army only could do that. *Grimston* brought the Officers to the Lobby of the House, where they were resolved to justify what they had said; and the Commons having then something in debate, diverted it, saying, he had a Matter of Privilege of the highest Nature to lay before them, which concern'd the Being and Freedom of the House; and then he accus'd *Cromwell* of a Design to put a Force upon them, and having his Witnesses at the Door, requested they might be examin'd. Accordingly they were brought to the Bar, and justify'd all they had related to him, and gave a full Account of whatever had pass'd at the Meetings of the Officers; which one, they withdrew; when *Cromwell* falling down on his Knees, made a solemn Prayer to God, attesting his Innocence, and his Zeal for the Interest of the House. This he did with great Vehemence and many Tears, and then made so long a Speech in his own Vindication, that he tired the House and wrought so much on his Party, that what the Officers said was so little credited, that if it had been moved, Sir <sup>bottle</sup>*Har-*

1647. *bottle* believed, that both he and they had been sent to the Tower. *Cromwell* however, no sooner got out of the House, but resolving to trust himself no more with them, he hastened to the Army; and a few Days after he brought them up, and forc'd a great many from the House. 'Twas his Opinion, it seems, with many in those Times, that in great Occasions, when some were call'd to extraordinary Services, they were excus'd from the common Rules of Morality; which they thought was the Case of the Judges among the *Israelites*.

And Mr. *Locke's.* ANOTHER Story related by Mr. *Locke*, in his *Memoirs* relating to the Life of Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, first Earl of *Shaftsbury*, may be likewise proper to be here inserted. He tells us, it happen'd one Morning that Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* calling upon Mr. *Hollis* (*viz.* after their Reconciliation, which he also relates) in his Way to the House, he found him in a great Heat against *Cromwell*, saying, he was resolv'd to bring him to Punishment. Sir *A. A.* shew'd him how dangerous such an Attempt might be, earnestly dissuaded him from it, and told him it would be enough to get rid of him, by sending him with a Command into *Ireland*, which, as things stood, he would be glad to accept. But this would not satisfy *Hollis*; and so when he came to the House, he brought the Matter to a Debate, and it was mov'd, that *Cromwell*, and those guilty with him should be punished. *Cromwell* being then in the House, no sooner heard this, but he stole out, took Horse, and posted to the Army, (which my Author says, as he remembers, was at *Triploe-Heath*) where he inform'd them of what the Presbyterian Party was doing in the House, and made such use of it to them, that they now united together under him, who forthwith led them away to *London*, giving out Menaces

naces against *Hollis* and his Party, who with *Stapleton*, and some others, were fain to fly; and thereby the Independant Party becoming the stronger, they, as they call'd it, purged the House, and turn'd out the Presbyterians. Soon after, *Cromwell* meeting Sir *A. A.* told him, *I am beholden to you for your Kindness to me; for you, I bear, were for letting me go without punishment; but your Friend, God be thanked, was not wise enough to take your Advice.* But to return:

THE King was all this while at *Holmby*: But The King the Animosities between the Parliament and Ar- taken my still continuing and increasing, the Agitators from feared the Parliament would now for their own and Security receive him upon any Terms, or rather brought put themselves under his Protection, that they to the Ar- might the better subdue the Army and reduce my them to Obedience. Wherefore, being instigated thereto by *Cromwell*, they on the 4th of June, sent Cornet *Joyce* one of their Body, with a Par- ty of Horse, to take the King out of the Hands of the Parliament-Commissioners, and bring him way to the Army. Accordingly, *Joyce* about Midnight drew up his Horse in Order before *Holmby-House*, demanding Entrance. Colonel *Graves*, and Major-General *Brown*, who being alarm'd, had doubled the Guards, enquiring his Name and Busines, he said his Name was *Joyce*, Cornet in Colonel *Whalley's* Regiment, and his Busines was to speak with the King. Being ask'd from whom, he said, *From my self, my Errand to the King, I must and I will speak with him.* *Graves* and *Brown* commanded their Men within to stand to their Arms; but they seeing hem to be their Fellow-Soldiers of the same Army, open'd the Gates, and shook Hands with hem as old Friends. The Cornet plac'd his Sentinels at the Commissioners Chamber-Doors, and went himself by the Back-Stairs, directly to the

1647. the King's Bed-Chamber. The Grooms being much surpriz'd, desired him to lay aside his Arms, and assured him, that in the Morning he should speak with the King: But he with Sword and Pistol insisted to have the Door open'd, and made so much Noise that it waked his Majesty, who sent him out Word, *That he would not rise nor speak with him till the Morning*; upon which the Cornet retir'd in a Huff. The King getting up early in the Morning, sent for him, who with great Boldness told his Majesty, he was commanded to remove him. Whereupon the King desired the Commissioners might be call'd; but Joyce said, *they had nothing to do, but to return back to the Parliament.* Being ask'd for Sight of his Instructions, he told his Majesty *he should see them presently;* so drawing up his Troop in the inner Court, *These, Sir,* said he, *are my Instructions.* The King having taken a good View of them, and finding them to be proper Men well mounted and arm'd, told the Cornet with Smile, *His Instructions were in fair Character legible without spelling.* Joyce then pressing the King to go along with him, his Majesty refused unless the Commissioners might attend him; to which the Cornet reply'd, *he was very indifferent they might go if they would:* So the King being attended by the Commissioners of the Parliament, went along with Joyce, and was that Night conducted by him to Colonel Montague's House at Hinchbrook, and the next Night to Sir John Cutts's at Childerley near Cambridge. Here Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, Skippon, and many other Officers came to wait upon the King, and some of them kissed his Hand. Tis said, That Joyce being told, that the General was displeas'd with him, for taking the King from Holmby, he answer'd, *That Lieutenant-General Cromwell had given him Orders at London to do all that he b*

done; and indeed Fairfax now resign'd himself entirely to Cromwell's Judgment, who led and governed him as he pleas'd.

1647.

## C H A P. VI.

From the King's Seizure at Holmby, to his Departure to the Isle of Wight.

THE Parliament received the News of the King's Seizure by the Army, with the utmost Amazement and Confusion: But this was not all; for about this Time, the Army drew up a Charge of High-Treason against eleven Members of the House of Commons, viz Mr. Denzil Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Clotworthy, Serjeant Glyn, Mr. Anthony Nichols, Mr. Walter Long, Sir William Lewis, Colonel Edward Harley, Sir William Waller, Colonel Massey, and Sir John Maynard; for betraying the Cause of the Parliament, endeavouring to break and destroy the Army, &c. This Charge was accompanied with a Declaration, shewing the Reason of what they had done, affirming, that they were oblig'd by their Duty so to do, as they tender'd the Preservation of the publick Cause, and securing the good People of England from being a Prey to their Enemies. The great End of this Charge of Treason, being rather to hinder these Members, who were the chief of the Presbyterian Party, from using their influence in the House (which was very great) Opposition to the Proceedings of the Army, than the proceeding capitally against them, they determin'd rather voluntarily to withdraw themselves, than to put the Parliament or Army

1647. my to any further Trouble, or themselves to  
any more Hazard.

*Cromwell's* *CROMWELL's* great Design, was to hinder any Conjunction between the King and the Presbyterians; and having now gotten him into his own Hands, he was for endeavouring his Restoration by Means of the Independents, thinking that thereby Liberty of Conscience would be the better secur'd, which the Presbyterian Hierarchy would not so well admit of. And indeed the King himself began to think that his Condition was alter'd for the better, and to look upon the Independent Interest as more consisting with Episcopacy than the Presbyterian, for that it might subsist under any Form, which the other could not do. What encourag'd the King the more was, that he was much more civilly treated since his being in the Army, than he was before, whilst he was the Parliament's Prisoner at *Holmby*. He was now indeed to make his involuntary Progress according to the Motion of the Army, and so at length was brought to *Hampton-Court*; but he was everywhere allow'd to appear in State and Lustre, his Nobility about him, his Chaplains in waiting, and all Servants permitted to attend in their proper Places. The Army had also sent an Address to him full of Protestations of Duty, beseeching him, "That he would be content, for some Time to reside among them, until the Affairs of the Kingdom were put into such Posture, as he might find all Things to his own Content, and Security; which they infinitely desir'd to see as soon as might be, and to that Purpose made daily Instances to the Parliament." *Cromwell* indeed thought fit at first to be somewhat upon the Reserve in this matter, for fear of increasing the Parliament's Jealousy of him. The Lord *Clarendon* tells us, That

His Behaviour towards the King. *Cromwell* indeed thought fit at first to be somewhat upon the Reserve in this matter, for fear of increasing the Parliament's Jealousy of him. The Lord *Clarendon* tells us, That

and *Ireton* had been with his Majesty, without either of them offering to kiss his Hand; at the King us'd all the Address he could towards them, to get some Promise from them, as owing them to have the greatest Influence on the Army; but they were so reserv'd, and stood so much upon their Guard, and spoke so few Words, that nothing could be gather'd from what they said; and they desired to be excused for not seeing his Majesty often, upon the great Jealousies the Parliament had of them, towards whom they professed all Fidelity. But after some Time, their Behaviour toward his Majesty was more free and open, they visited him more frequently, and had longer Conferences with him; and *Cromwell* in particular is said to have promised him, "That if he and his Party would sit still, and neither act or declare against the Army, they would restore him, and make him the most glorious Prince in Christendom." Tho' we are told, that in private among his Friends, he boasted, "That now he had got the King into his Hands, he had the Parliament in his Pocket." His Majesty was very sensible that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* bore the greatest sway in the Army, and that General *Fairfax* had little or no Influence on it. We are inform'd, that his Excellency conferred with the King in private, and in a particular Manner offer'd him his Service; but upon his taking Leave, his Majesty said to him, *Sir, you have as good Interest in the Army as you*: Which expression, the General said, was more shocking, occasion'd him more Grief and Vexation, than all the Troubles and Fatigues he had endured thro' the whole War.

THE News of the King's being in the Army, and the civil Treatment he met with from them, occasion'd the Queen and Prince of Wales, then in France, to dispatch Sir *Edward Ford*, who

1647. who had married *Ireton's Sister*, but had been  
 an Officer in the King's Army from the Beginning of the War, to sound the Design of the Army, and to promote an Agreement between the King and them. Sir *John Berkley* was likewise sent over upon the like Errand ; and 'twas in his Instructions to procure a Pass for Mr. *John Ashburnham*, to come and assist him in his Negotiation. Being on his Way towards *London*, he was met by Sir *Allen Appesley*, who had been

His Mef-  
sage to Sir  
*John Berk-*  
*ley.*

Lieutenant-Governour under him at *Exeter*; by whom he was acquainted, that he was sent to him from Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, and some other Officers of the Army, with Letters and Cypher, as also particular Instructions to desire him to call to Mind his own Discourse at a Conference with Colonel *Lambert*, and other Officers upon the Surrender of *Exeter*; when having taken notice of the bitter Reproaches cast on the King by those of the Army, and supposing that such Discourses were encouraged in order to dispose Mens Minds for an Alteration of the Government; he said, " That it was not only " most wicked, but difficult Undertaking, if no " impossible, for a few Men not of the greatest " Quality, to introduce a popular Government " against the King, the Nobility and Gentry " the Presbyterians, and the Genius of the Nation; for so many Ages accustom'd to Monarchy; and advis'd, That since the Presbyterians, who had begun the War upon many specious Pretences, were found to have fought only their own Advancements, which Means they had lost almost all their Power and Credit; the Independent Party, who had no particular Obligation to the Crown, many of the Presbyterians had, would make good what the Presbyterians had only pretended to, and restore the King and People

their just and antient Rights; which they were concern'd to do in Point of Prudence and Interest, there being no Means under Heaven more likely to secure themselves, and obtain as much Trust and Power as Subjects are capable of; whereas if they aim'd at more, it would be attended with a general Hatred, and their own Destruction." He was likewise ordered by *Cromwell*, to let Sir *John* know, "That tho' to this Discourse of his, they then gave only the Hearing; yet they had since found by Experience, that all, or the greatest Part of it was reasonable, and they were resolved to act accordingly, as might be perceived by what had already pass'd; and desir'd that he would present them humbly to the Queen and Prince, and be a Suitor to them in their Names, not to condemn them absolutely, but to suspend their Opinion of them, and of their Intentions, till their future Carriage should make full Proof of their Integrity, of which they had already given some Testimonies to the World; and that when he had perform'd this Office, he would come back to *England*, and be an Eye-Witness of their Proceedings."

THE Parliament at this Time fear'd nothing so much, as that the Army would make firm Conjunction with the King, and unite with his Party, of which there was so much shew; and many imprudent Persons, who very much desir'd it, bragg'd too much of it; whereupon the two Houses sent a Committee to his Majesty, with an Address of another Strain than they had lately us'd, making many Prosternations of Duty, and declaring, "That if he was not in all respects treated as he ought to be, and as he desired, it was not their Fault, who were desirous he might be at full Liberty, and do what he would." The Army

1647. at the same Time was not without Jealousy, that  
 the King hearkened to some secret Propositions  
 from the Presbyterian Party, and design'd to  
 make an absolute Breach between the Parlia-  
 ment and the Army ; which occasion'd Ireton to  
 say to him, *Sir, you have an Intention to be Ar-  
 bitrator between the Parliament and us, and we  
 mean to be so between you and the Parliament.*  
 The King in the mean Time finding himself  
 courted on all Hands, was so confident of his own  
 Importance, as to imagine himself able to turn the  
 Scale to what Side soever he pleased. In this  
 Temper he was when Sir John Berkley came to  
 him ; which he did, after leave obtain'd from  
 Cromwell, who also confirm'd with his own  
 Mouth what Sir Allen Appesley had before commu-  
 nicated to Sir John, with this Addition, " That  
 His Dis-  
 course  
 with him. " he thought no Man could enjoy his Life and  
 Estate quietly, unless the King had his Right  
 " which, he said, they had already declared to  
 the World in general Terms, and would more  
 particularly very soon, wherein they would  
 comprise the several Interests of the Royal  
 ists, Presbyterians, and Independents, as far  
 as they were consistent with one another.  
 Some Time after, 'tis said, Sir John meeting  
 him at Reading, as he was coming from the  
 King at Caverham, Cromwell told him, " That  
 he had lately seen the tenderest Sight that  
 ever his Eyes beheld, which was the Interview  
 between the King and his Children ; " and  
 wept plentifully at the Remembrance of it, say-  
 ing, " That never Man was so abus'd in his  
 nister Opinion of the King, who he thought  
 was the most upright and conscientious Man  
 in the three Kingdoms ; that the Independent  
 Party were infinitely obliged to him, for  
 consenting to the Propositions sent to him  
 " No

" Newcastle, which would have totally ruin'd them, and which his Majesty's Interest seem'd to invite him to." Concluding with this Wish, " That God would be pleas'd to look upon him, according to the Sincerity of his Heart towards the King."

THE Army in general, as well as *Cromwell*, Agitators appear'd at this Time to be very zealous for the King's Interest, and yet they seem'd somewhat doubtful to suspect the reality of one another's Intentions. Some of the principal Agitators, with whom Sir John Berkley convers'd at Reading, declar'd to him their Jealousy, that *Cromwell* was not sincere for the King, and desir'd him, if he found him false, to inform them of it, promising, that they would endeavour to set him right, either with or against his Will. Major Huntingdon, an Officer in *Cromwell's* Regiment, who was entrusted by him to command the Guard about his Majesty, became wholly devoted to the royal Interest, and by the King's Order, brought two general Officers to Berkley, Persons in whom he might confide. These two discours'd frequently with him, and assur'd him, " That a Conjunction with the King was universally desir'd by the Officers and Agitators, and that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were great Dissemblers, if they were not real in it; but that the Army was so bent upon it at present, that they durst not shew themselves otherwise." They likewise inform'd him, " That Proposals were drawn up by *Ireton*, wherein Episcopacy was not requir'd to be abolish'd, nor any of the King's Party wholly ruin'd, nor the *Militia* to be taken away from the Crown;" and advis'd, " That his Majesty would without Delay consent to them, there being no Assurance of the Army, which they had observ'd already to have chang'd more than once." *Crom-*

1647. well himself was also doubtful of the Army. In all his Conferences with *Berkley*, he appear'd exceeding desirous of a speedy Agreement with the King, insomuch that he sometimes blam'd *Ireton's* slowness in perfecting the Proposals, and his backwardness in coming up to his Majesty's Sense; and on the other Hand would wish, that Sir *John Berkley* would act more frankly, and not tie himself up by narrow Principles; always declaring, *That he doubted the Army would not persist in their good Intentions towards the King.*

*Mr. Aſburnham arrives.* By this Time Mr. *Aſburnham* was arriv'd to the King's great Satisfaction. Sir *John Berkley* convers'd chiefly with the Agitators; but *Aſburnham* was soon of another Mind, and openly declar'd, That having always us'd the best Company, he would not converse with such fensles Fellows as the Agitators; that if the Officers could be gain'd, they would, without doubt, be able to command their own Army; and that he was determined to apply himself wholly to them.

*And cor- responds with Cromwell.* Hereupon there was soon observ'd a great Familiarity between him and *Whalley*, who commanded the Guard that attended the King, as also a cloſe Correspondence with *Cromwell* and his Son-in-law *Ireton*, Messages daily passing from the King to the Head-Quarters: Which soon gave the rest of the Army a Suspicion of some private Treaty being carry'd on with the King; who being likewise encourag'd by the Presbyterian Party, (the Lord *Lauderdale*, and seve-

*King dif- ral of the City of London*, assuring him, that likes the they would oppose the Army to the Death) when the Proposals were brought to him, and his Concurrence humbly desir'd by the Army, he entertain'd their Commissioners with very disobligring Language, saying, That no Man should suffer for his Sake, and that he repented of nothing so much

much, as that he pass'd the Bill against the Earl of Strafford; and that he would have the Church establish'd according to Law by the Proposals; or there was nothing mention'd in them concerning Church Government. The Proposals were indeed much more moderate, than those sent to him from the Parliament; but he unhappy thought, they proceeded only from the Necessity they had of him, and in discoursing with them, would frequently use these or the like Expressions, *You cannot do without me; you will fall to Ruin, if I do not sustain you.* Not only the Officers of the Army who were present, but the King's own Party, appear'd exceedingly astonish'd at this kind of Proceeding; whereupon he began to soften his former Discourse, but it was too late; for Colonel Rainsborough, who seem'd least of all to desire an Agreement with him, immediately going out from the Conference, went directly to the Army, and it is At which gave them to understand what Treatment their gusted. Commissioners and Proposals had met with from the King.

LET us now see how Matters stood between the Parliament, Army, and City at this Time. The City, who hated the Army, had their Militia settled on the 4th of May, in the Management of the Presbyterians, who were very diligent in completing their Companies: But this was contrary to the Design of the Army, and judg'd to be a Conspiracy against it; whereupon Fairfax, who in every thing was influenc'd by Cromwell, upon the 10th of June wrote a Letter to the Parliament, *That the Militia of the City of London, might be put into the Hands of such as were better affected to the Army.* This the Parliament quietly submitted to, and July 23d, repeal'd the Ordinance of the 4th of May.

1647. The Common-Council being hereupon assembled, resolv'd to petition the Parliament against it, which they accordingly did on the 2<sup>nd</sup>; and presently after, many thousand Citizens, young Men and Apprentices, went in a Body and deliver'd another Petition, setting forth, " That to order the City's Militia was the City's Birth-right, belonging to them by Charters confirm'd in Parliament; for Defence whereof, they had ventured their Lives as far as the Army; and therefore they desir'd, that the Militia might be put again into the same Hands, in which it was put with the Parliament's and City's Consent, by the Ordinance of the 2<sup>nd</sup> of May." Upon the reading of this Petition, the House of Peers immediately revoked the Ordinance of the 23<sup>d</sup> of July, and renewed that of the 4<sup>th</sup> of May, and sent it down to the Commons for their Consent; which they durst not refuse, the Apprentices behaving themselves so insolently, that they would scarce let the Door of the House be shut, and some of them got in amongst them. And some time after, when the House broke up, the Speaker was forc'd back into the Chair by the Violence of the Multitude, who detain'd him and the Members, till they oblig'd them to pass a Vote, *That the King should come forthwith to London; and another, That he should be invited to come with Honour, Freedom, and Safety.* And then both Houses adjourn'd for four Days.

Whereupon several Speakers of both Houses, being apprehensive of Danger from such Tumults, repair'd to the Army, complaining of the Violences upon the Members. The Army could not have desir'd a greater Advantage than this gave them, who therefore receiv'd the two Speakers with the Members, as so many Angels sent from Heaven.

Heaven for their Good, shewed them all imaginable Respect, professed all Submission to them, as to the Parliament of England, and declared, 1647. That they would re-establish them in their full Power, or perish in the Attempt. After the four Days Adjournment, the Remainder of the Parliament met; and both Houses missing their Speakers, chose them new ones, and passed the following Votes. First, That the King should come to London. Secondly, That the Militia of London should be authorized to raise Forces for the Defence of the City. Thirdly, That Power be given to the same Militia to chuse a General. Fourthly, That the eleven Members impeached by the Army, should resume their Seats in Parliament.

THE Citizens armed with these Powers, proceeded to raise Forces under the Command of Waller, Maffey and Pointz; but they were very much discouraged in their Proceedings by the News of the general Rendezvous of the Army upon *Hounslow-Heath*, where the two speakers appeared with their Maces, and such Members as accompanied them. Besides, the Borough of *Southwark* was generally for the Army, which was now marching towards London, to restore the Members who fled to them, to their Places and Authorities. Part of the Army feized upon the Block-House at Gravesend, and block'd up the City by Water towards the East, and the General with the rest of the Army, towards the West. Upon this, the Aldermen and Common-Council of the City decried their three Generals, and sent to Fairfax a Pacification; which he granted them upon these Conditions. First, That they should desert the Parliament then sitting, and the eleven Members. Secondly, That they should recal their Declaration. Thirdly, That they should relinquish

Which marches to London.

1647. linquish their present Militia. Fourthly, That they should deliver up to the General all their Forts, and the Tower of London. Fifthly, That they should disband all the Forces they had lately raised, and do all Things else, which were necessary for the publick Tranquillity.

And re-  
stores  
them to  
their  
Seats.

THE next Day, Cromwell marched to Westminster, and placed the Guards in the Court, in the Hall, and even at the Doors of the two Houses: and a little after, General Fairfax conducted the severall Members who had fled to the Army, to their Seats in Parliament; where they annulled all the Acts and Orders, which had passed since the 26th of July. Two Days after the Army marched, as it were, in Triumph thro' the City, the General leading the Avant-Guard Major-General Skippon the Main Body, and Cromwell the Rear-Guard; and all the Soldiers having Laurel-Banches in their Hats. After this pompous March, the Army was distributed into Quarters, in Kent, Surrey, and Essex; and thus they surrounded the City.

Factions  
arise in  
the Army.

THE City being subdued, and the Parliament and Army seemingly reconciled, there now arose Differences in the Army it self. The Agitators no longer inclin'd to an Agreement with the King, were very much disturbed at some of the great Officers, who were still for promoting such an Agreement: And many in the Army complained of the Intimacy of Sir John Berkley and Mr. Ashburnham, with the chief Officers of the Army, declaring to the Council of Agitators, that the Doors of Cromwell and Ireton were open to them, when they were shut to those of the Army. Cromwell was very uneasy at these Discourses, and formed the King's Party of them, telling Ashburnham and Berkley, "That if he were an honest Man, he had said enough of

They are  
jealous of  
Crom-  
well's  
treating  
with the  
King.

" Since

Sincerity of his Intentions ; and if he were not, nothing was enough ; and therefore he conjured them, as they tendered the King's Service, not to come so frequently to his Quarters, but to send privately to him ; the Suspicion of him being grown so great, that he was afraid to lie in them him self." Thus the Agitators, who were supposed to be first set up by *Cromwell*, oppose the Parliament's Design of disbanding, began to be very troublesome to him, and were length so set against him, that he was forc'd for his own Safety to make his Peace with them, abandoning the King's Interest : As we shall see hereafter.

ABOUT three Weeks after the Army entered London, the Parliament thought fit to address themselves to the King, in the old Propositions of Newcastle, some Particulars concerning the Posts only excepted. His Majesty advising with Berkley and ABBURNHAM, and some others about him, upon this matter, 'twas concluded to be unsafe for him to treat with the Parliament, whilst the Army were the Masters : And some say, that He pre-  
scriptions were given by *Cromwell* and other vails on Officers, That if the King would assent to their the King Proposals, lower than those of the Parliament, the army would settle him again in his Throne. How-ever it was, the King thought fit to wave the Parliament's Propositions, or any Treaty upon them, and desired a personal Treaty upon the Proposals the Army. The Officers of the Army having in his Answer before it was sent, seem'd to be very well pleased with it, and promised to do all they could to procure a personal Treaty ; and accordingly *Cromwell* and Ireton, and many of their Party in the House, press'd his Majesty's Desires with great Earnestness ; but contrary to their Expectations, they met with a vigorous Opposition from such as had already conceived a Jealousy of their

1647; their private Agreement with the King, and now thought themselves sure of it; the Suspicions of them growing so strong, that they were look'd upon as Betrayers of the Cause, and lost almost all their Friends in the Parliament. The Army likewise, which lay then about Putney, were no less dissatisfy'd with their Proceedings, of which they receiv'd daily Information from those that came to them from London; so that the Agitators began to complain openly in Council, both of the King and the Malignants about him, and declar'd, "That since the King had rejected their Proposals, they were no farther engaged to him; but that they were now to consult their own Safety, and the publick Good, and having the Power devolved upon them by the Decision of the Sword, to which both Parties had appeal'd, and being convinc'd, that Monarchy was inconsistent with the Good of the Nation, they resolved to use their Endeavours to reduce the Government of *England* to the Form of a *Common-Wealth.*" They also design'd to have seiz'd *Ashburnham* and *Berkley*, for negotiating the Treaty they supposed to have been

The Fury carried on between the King and *Cromwell* of the Agitators. and carrying their Fury yet further, were resolved to wrest the King out of the Hand of the two Traitors, as they called *Cromwell* and *Ireton*. These Things struck a great Terror into these two Leaders, so that they thought it necessary to draw the Army to a general Rendezvous, which they could the better bring about, because most of the great Officers were still well affected to the King, and dislik'd the Proceedings of the Agitators, whose exorbitant Power they hoped by that Means to suppress. But the Agitators having Notice of the intended Rendezvous, and guessing at the Design of it, us'd their utmost endeavours to prevent

t, and resolved before-hand to seize on the Person of the King. 1647.

CROMWELL in the mean Time acquainted the King with the Danger he was in, and advising him of his real Service, protested to him, vice the hat it was not in his Power to undertake for his Security in the Place where he now resided. Hereupon the King was resolved to make his Escape from Hampton-Court; and some advised him to secure his Person by leaving the King-Court. But to this he objected, That the Rendezvous being appointed for the next Week, he was unwilling to quit the Army till that was over; because, if the superior Officers prevailed, they would be able to make good their Engagement; if not, they must apply themselves to him for their own Security. Several other Advices were offered him; but he at last resolved to go to the Isle of Wight, being very probably, as Ludlow observes, recommended thither by Cromwell, who, as well as the King, had a good Opinion of Colonel Hammond the Governour, who was one of the Army. Pursuant to this Resolution, the King left Hampton-Court in the Night, Berkely and Ashburnham with some others accompanying him; and on the 13th of November they all went over to the Isle of Wight, being conducted thither by Hammond himself, who the Day before came to wait on his Majesty at Titchfield.

By Cromwell's Advice makes his Escape from Hampton-Court. And goes to the Isle of Wight.



## C H A P. VII.

*From the King's Escape from Hampton-Court, and Departure to the Isle of Wight, to the breaking out of the second civil War.*

THE Parliament being inform'd of the King's withdrawing himself from *Hampton-Court*, was in a terrible Consternation, and immediately pass'd an Ordinance, declaring, " That it should be Confiscation of Estate, and Loss of Life, for any to Harbour, or Conceal the King's Person, without giving Information to the Parliament." And being now mostly devoted to the Army, they caused some of the most notorious Presbyterians Houses to be searched, and sent Posts to all the Ports of the Kindom, " That they might be shut, and no Person be permitted to embark, lest the King in Disguise should transport himself :" And a Proclamation was publish'd, for the banishing all such as had ever borne Arms for the King, from the City, or any Place within twenty Miles of it. But within two Days

*Cromwell* acquaints the Parliament with it. Their Fears were all remov'd by *Cromwell's* informing the House, " That he had received Letters from Colonel *Hammond*, of the King's coming to the Isle of *Wight*, and that he remained there in *Carisbrook-Castle* till the Parliament's Pleasure should be known." He at the same Time assur'd them, " That Colonel *Hammond* was so honest a Man, and so much devoted to the Service, that they need not fear his being corrupted by any Body :" And all this Relation

made, says my Lord *Clarendon*, with so unusual a Gaiety, that all Men concluded, that <sup>1647.</sup> His Majesty was where *Cromwell* desired he should be.

ABOUT this Time the Agitators of nine Regiments of Horse, and seven of Foot, presented Writing to the General, and afterwards to the Parliament, declaring;

1. "THAT the People being unequally distributed by Counties, Cities and Boroughs, for Election of their Deputies in Parliament, ought to be more indifferently proportioned according to the Number of Inhabitants.
2. "THAT this present Parliament be dissolved by the last Day of September next.
3. "THAT the People do of Course chuse themselves a Parliament once in every two Years.
4. "THAT the Power of this, and all other future Representatives is inferior only to theirs who chuse them, and extends, without the Consent of any other Person, to the enacting, altering, and repealing of Laws; to the erecting and abolishing of Offices and Courts; to the appointing, removing, and calling to account, Magistrates and Officers of all Degrees; to the making War and Peace; to the treating with foreign States, and generally to whatsoever is not reserved by those represented to themselves." And here they declare, "That impressing or constraining any to serve in the War, is against Freedom, and not allowed to the Representatives."

"THAT in all Laws every Person be bound alike; and that Tenure, Estates, Charter, Degree, Birth, or Place, do not confer any Exception from the ordinary Course of legal Proceedings whereunto others are subjected."

"THAT

1647. " THAT the Laws must be equal and good,  
" and not destructive to the Safety and well be-  
" ing of the People.

" THESE they declar'd to be their native  
" Rights, which they were resolv'd to maintain,  
" and not to depend, for the Settlement for their  
" Peace and Freedom, upon him that intended  
" their Bondage, [meaning the King] and brought  
" a cruel War upon them." Thus the Agita-  
tors grew still bolder, and were resolv'd to ac-  
complish their Designs; and these with their Ad-  
herents were now called *Levellers*, and occasion-  
ed great Disturbance to the Parliament and in  
the Army, as likewise the Trial and Death of  
the King.

THE Time for the general Rendezvous be-  
ing come, they who were of this Party, to di-  
stinguish themselves, appear'd every one with a  
Paper in his Hat, with these Words written up-  
on it, *The Rights of England, and the Consent*  
*of the People*; signifying thereby, that their  
Design was to abolish, not only the Monarchy,  
but also the House of Peers, and to establish a  
pure Democracy. This was what Colonel Rains-  
borough, one of their Leaders, assisted by Eyn-  
and Scot, went about soliciting from one Regi-  
ment to another, stirring up the Soldiers against  
Fairfax, Cromwell, and the other general Offi-

They are  
suppress'd  
by Crom-  
well. cers. But Cromwell was resolv'd to endeavour  
the Suppression of this License: For which  
Purpose, being accompany'd with divers Offi-  
cers, he with a wonderful Briskness and Viva-  
city, rode up to one of the Regiments, which  
wore the distinguishing Marks, and commanded  
them to take them out of their Hats; which the  
refusing to do, he caus'd several of them to be  
feiz'd, and knock'd two or three of them in  
the Head with his own Hand; and then the o-  
thers Hearts failing they submitted to him. H

order'd one of those whom he had seiz'd to be shot  
dead upon the Place, and deliver'd the rest into  
the Hands of the Marshal, and having dispers'd  
the Army to their Quarters, wrote an Account  
of his Proceedings to the Parliament; who be-  
ing very desirous to have this Spirit quell'd in  
the Army, return'd him the Thanks of the  
House.

THE Levellers being thus subdu'd, and the Parliament and Army being now pretty much at a Temper, 'twas agreed, that a personal Treaty should be offer'd to his Majesty, on Condition, that as a Pledge of his future Sincerity, he would forthwith grant his royal Assent to our preliminary Bills. The first of which was for investing the Militia in the two Houses: The second, for revoking all Proclamations and Declarations against the Parliament: The third, for making void all such Titles of Honour, as had been confer'd by his Majesty, since his leaving the Parliament; and that for the future, none should be granted to any Person without Consent of the Parliament: And the fourth, that the Houses should have Power to adjourn themselves as they should think fit. The Scotch being not included in this Treaty, their Commissioners sent a large Declaration in very high language to the two Houses at Westminster, protesting against the sending of the four Bills, and pressing for a personal Treaty with the King at London, upon such Propositions as should be agreed on by the Advice and Consent of the two Kingdoms. But the Parliament was to be aw'd only by the Army; and so they order'd the Printer of the Scotch Declaration to be committed, and then sent them back an Answer full of Reproof and Contempt.

BEFORE we see what Reception the four Bills met with from his Majesty, let us observe how

1647. Matters pass'd in the Army since the late Rev. deзвous. *Ludlow*, as great an Enemy to *Cromwell* as to the King, gives us the clearest Account of the sudden Turn of Affairs there, which was to the great Damage, and even the Ruin of the King's Interest; whom therefore I shall follow upon this Occasion.

*A large Account of Cromwell's Reconciliation with the Levellers, and his quitting Authority.* HE informs us, that Colonel *Hammond* and Mr. *Ashburnham* had frequent Conferences with the King, who had made such Promises to *Hammond*, that he express'd his earnest Desire, that the Army might resume their Powers, and rid themselves of the Agitators, whose Authority, he said, he never lik'd. To this end he sent one Mr. *Traughton* his Chaplain to the Army, to advise them to make use of their late Success against the Agitators; and soon after he earnestly press'd the King to send some of those who attended on him to the Army, with Letters of Compliment to *Fairfax*, and others of greater Confidence to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*. He also wrote to them himself,

"Conjuring them by their Engagements  
" their Honour and Conscience, to come to  
" a speedy Agreement with the King, and no  
" to expose themselves to the fantastick Gid  
" dines of the Agitators." Sir *John Berkley* was appointed by the King, in pursuance of *Hammond's* Advice, to go over to the Army who taking with him Mr. *Henry Berkley* his Cousin, went over from the Island with a Pass from the Governor of *Cowes*. Being on his Way towards the Army, he met Mr. *Traughton* on his Return between *Bagshot* and *Windsor*, who inform'd him, That he had no good News to carry back to his Majesty, the Army having enter'd into new Resolutions concerning his Person. He had not gone much farther, before he was met by Cornet *Joyce*, who told him

"The

1647.

That he was astonish'd at his Design of going to the Army, for that it had been debated amongst the Agitators, whether, in Jus- tification of themselves, the King should be brought to a Trial; " of which Opinion he declar'd himself to be. Sir John however solv'd to go to the Army, and being arriv'd *Windsor*, went to the General's Quarters, where the Officers of the Army were asseni- ed. Being admitted, he deliver'd his Letters to the General, who receiving them, order'd him to withdraw. Having waited about half

Hour, he was again call'd in, when the General, with some Severity in his Looks, told him, *That they were the Parliament's Army, and therefore could say nothing to the King's Mo- n about Peace, but must refer those Matters, and the King's Letters to their Consideration.* Sir John then look'd upon *Cromwell, Ireton, and the rest of his Acquaintance*; but they salut- him very coldly, and shewing him Colonel *Hammond's Letter* to them, smil'd with disdain on it.

FINDING himself thus disappointed, *Berkley* went to his Lodging; where having staid two hours without any Company, he at last order'd Servant to go out, and see if he could find of his Acquaintance. The Servant going met with one who was a general Officer, who bid him tell his Master, that he would meet him in such a Place at Midnight. They accordingly met, the Officer acquainted *Berkley* in genera!, That he had no good News tell him; and then proceeding to Particulars, " You know, that I and my Friends en- havig'd ourselves to you; that we were zealous for an Agreement, and if the rest were not before, we were abus'd: That since the Tumults in the Army, we did mistrust *Cromwell* and

1647. "Ireton; whereof I inform'd you. I come now  
 "to tell you, that we mistrust neither, and  
 "that we are resolv'd, notwithstanding our En-  
 "gagement, to destroy the King and his Po-  
 "terity; to which Purpose Ireton has made two  
 "Propositions this Afternoon; one, that you  
 "should be sent Prisoner to London; the other  
 "that none should speak with you upon pain  
 "of Death; and I do now hazard my Life  
 "by doing it. The way design'd to ruin His  
 "Majesty, is to send eight Hundred of the  
 "most disaffected in the Army to secure his Per-  
 "son, and then to bring him to a Trial, and  
 "I dare think no farther. This will be done  
 "in ten Days; and therefore if the King can  
 "escape, let him do it as he loves his Life.

SIR John being exceedingly troubled at this Relation, ask'd his Friend the Reason of the Change, seeing the King had done all Things in Compliance with the Army, and the Officers were become superior since the last Rendezvous. Whereupon he gave him this Account: "That there was one of the Mutineers was shot to Death, eleven more imprison'd, and the rest in Appearance over-aw'd, yet they were so far from being so in reality, that two Thirds of the Army had been since with Cromwell and Ireton, and let them know, that tho' they were sure to perish in the Enterprize, they would let nothing unattempted to bring the whole Army to their Sense; and if all fail'd, they would make a Division in the Army, and unit with any who would assist them in the destruction of their Opposers. That Cromwell and Ireton reason'd thus with themselves, If the Army divide, the greatest Part will join the Presbyterians, and will most probably prove to our Ruin; or we shall be oblig'd in such a

"Manner

Manner to apply our selves to the King, as rather to beg than offer any Assistance ; which if the King shall give, and be so fortunate as to prevail ; if he shall then pardon us, it will be all we can expect, and more than we can assure ourselves of : And thereupon concluded, That if they could not bring the Army to their Sense, it was best to comply with them, a Division being utterly destructive to both." In pursuance therefore of this Resolution, Lieutenant-General Cromwell employ'd all his Thoughts and Endeavours to make his Peace with the Party that was most set against the King ; pretending, as he knew well enough how to do on such Occasions, That the Glory of this World had so dazzled his Eyes, that he could not discern clearly the great Works that the Lord was doing. He also sent comfortable Messages to the Prisoners he had seiz'd at the late rendezvous, assuring them, that nothing should be done to their Prejudice ; and by these and the like arts, he perfected his Reconciliation with the revelling Party.

SIR John Berkley returning to his Lodging, dispatch'd his Cousin to the Isle of Wight with two Letters ; one to Colonel Hammond, giving a general Account, and doubtful Judgment of Affairs in the Army ; another in Cypher, with a particular relation of the Conference he had with the fore-mentioned general Officer, and a most earnest Supplication to his Majesty, to think of nothing but his immediate Escape. The next Morning he sent Colonel Cook to Cromwell, to acquaint him that he had Letters and Instructions to him from the King : But Cromwell returned him Answer by the Messenger, That he durst not see him, it being very dangerous to them both ; assuring him, that he could serve the King as long as he could do it without his own Ruin ; but desir'd, that it might not be suspected, that he should perish for his sake.

1647. **T**HUS we have seen the Motives, that prevail'd on this famous General to abandon the King's Interest. And much the same Account is given by *Salmonet*, who will not at all be suspected of being partial to *Cromwell*: So that if he hitherto acted sincerely in his Design to serve the King, as is most probable, they who charge him with having contrived his Ruin from the Beginning of the civil Wars, ascribe to him more refin'd and more ambitious Vices than he really had. He was indeed ambitious enough, and was as good as any at the Art of Dissimulation: But certainly nothing hinders, but a Dissembler may sometimes be in earnest; and his Ambition might be gratify'd by the private Treaty, that was supposed to be carried on between him and the King, by stipulating such Honours and Advancements for himself and Family, as such a Service (*viz.*, restoring the King to his Throne) might reasonably lay claim to.

**S**tory of AND here I cannot omit another Account, the King's that is given by some of *Cromwell's* falling off deceiving from the King, and deserting his Interest. They *Cromwell.* tell us, that there was a Report, that *Cromwell* made a private Article with the King, *That if his Majesty clos'd with the Army's proposals, he should be made Earl of Essex, Knight of the Garter, and first Captain of the Horse-Guards; and Ireton was to be made Lieutenant of Ireland.* Other Honour and Employments were likewise stipulated for *Cromwell's* Family and Friends. But the King was so uxorious, that he would do nothing without the Advice of his Queen, who not liking the Proposal, he sent her a Letter to acquaint her *That tho' he assented to the Army's Proposals, yet by so doing he could procure Peace, it would be easier then to take off Cromwell, than now he was the Head that govern'd the Army.* *Cromwell*, who had his Spies upon every Motion of the King intercept

intercepted this Letter, and thereupon resolv'd never to trust the King more. This indeed is said to have happen'd before the King left *Hampton-Court*: For upon this they tell us, that *Cromwell* fearing he could not manage his Designs, if the King were so near the Parliament and City as *Hampton-Court*, gave him private Information, that he was in no Safety there, by Reason of the Hatred which the Agitators bore him; and that he would be more secure in the Isle of *Wight*. Hereupon the King, whilst the Parliament and *Scotch* Commissioners were debating his Answer to their Propositions, made his escape from *Hampton-Court*; as before related.

WE can say nothing to the Truth of this Story, but leave it to the Reader to judge of it as he thinks fit. Only thus much we may observe, that *F. Orleans* says, 'Twas believ'd in *France*, that the King had deceiv'd *Cromwell*; tho' he makes this to be purely the Effect of *Cromwell's* Artifice. And the Lord *Clarendon* speaks of *Cromwell's* complaining that the King could not be trusted, tho' he makes his whole Carriage towards his Majesty to be nothing but Hypocrisy and Dissimulation, in order to bring about his own Designs. However I shall set down his Words.

*Ashburnham* and *Berkley*, says he, receiv'd many Advertisements (which was a little before the King's Escape) from some Officers with whom they had most convers'd, and who would have been glad that the King might have been restor'd by the Army, for the Preferments, which they expected might fall to their Share, " That *Cromwell* and *Ireton* resolv'd never to trust the King, or do any thing towards his Restoration." And a little after, he says, That *Cromwell* himself expostulated with Mr. *Ashburnham*, and complain'd, " That the King could not be trusted, and that he had no Affection or Confidence in

1647. " the Army, but was jealous of them, and of all  
 " the Officers ; that he had Intrigues in the Par-  
 " liament, and Treaties with the Presbyterians  
 " of the City, to raise new Troubles ; that he  
 " had a Treaty concluded with the Scotch Com-  
 " missioners to engage the Nation again in Blood;  
 " And therefore he would not be answerable,  
 " if any thing fell out amiss, and contrary to  
 " Expectation."

FOR a Conclusion, I shall set down what Dr. *Welwood* in his Memoirs, says, concerning this Matter. " As every Thing, *says he*, did contri-  
 " but to the Fall of King *Charles I.* so did  
 " every Thing contribute to the Rise of *Crom-  
 well*: And as there was no Design at first a-  
 " gainst the King's Life, so it's probable that  
 " *Cromwell* had no Thoughts, for a long Time,  
 " of ever arriving at what he afterwards was.  
 " It is known, he was once in Treaty with the  
 " King, after the Army had carried his Majesty  
 " away from *Holmby-House*, to have restor'd him  
 " to the Throne ; which probably he would  
 " have done, if the Secret had not been like to  
 " take Vent, by the Indiscretion of some about  
 " the King ; which push'd *Cromwell* on to pre-  
 " vent his own, by the Ruin of the King."

*Meeting of Officers at Windsor to have the King prosecuted.* HOWEVER it was, (for these things must still remain under some Confusion) it is certain, as the Lord *Clarendon* observes, that a few Days after the King's Departure from *Hampton-Court*, and after it was known he was in the Isle of *Wight*, there was a Meeting of the general Officers of the Army at *Windsor*, (very probably the same which *Ludlow* mentions, into which Sir *John Berkley* was admitted) where *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were present, to consider what should now be done with the King : And 'twas resolv'd, *That he should be prosecuted for his Life as a Criminal Person.* This Resolution, however, was a great Secret

Secret, whereof the Parliament had not the least Notice or Suspicion ; but was, as it had been, to be led on by Degrees to do what it never design'd.

THE Parliament's Commissioners being arriv'd in the Isle of *Wight*, presented the four preliminary Bills with the Propositions on them, to his Majesty ; and the next Day the Scotch Commissioners waited on the King, and entered their Protestation to this Purpose, " That they had endeavoured all Ways and Means with the Parliament of *England*, for furthering a happy Peace ; but having seen the Propositions and Bills brought to his Majesty, which they apprehended prejudicial to Religion, the Crown, and the Union between the Kingdoms ; they therefore in the Name of the Kingdom of Scotland, declared their Dissent." The King having no mind to pass the four Bills, and guessing what might thence ensue, began to think of making his Escape. And General Fairfax sent a Letter to the House of Commons to acquaint them, that there had been some Meeting in the Isle of *Wight*, with an Intention to rescue the King ; for which Reason he had sent Orders to the Governor, to have a strict Guard upon his Majesty's Person. Whereupon the Parliament agreed, that his Excellency be required to take special Care, for securing the King's Person in the Castle of *Carisbrook*, and that *Hammond* should obey his further Orders and Directions.

THE Commissioners of the Parliament were He refuses by this time come back with the King's Answer, which imported, *That he had refus'd to them to pass the Bills, or to make a Composure in that way; but had barely offered a personal Treaty.* Upon this there followed a long Debate in the House, and many severe and bitter Speeches were made against the King. Among the rest,

Crom-

1647. Cromwell declar'd, " That the King was a Man  
 of great Parts and great Understanding ; but  
 Cromwell's with-all so great a Dissembler, and so false a  
 Speech in the House thereupon he rehears'd several Particulars whilst  
 he was in the Army, That the King wish'd such  
 and such things might be done ; which being done  
 to gratify him, he was displeased, and complain'd of it : That whilst he professed with all So-  
 lemnity, that he refer'd himself wholly to the  
 Parliament, and depended only on their Wisdom  
 and Counsel, for settling and composing the Di-  
 stractions of the Kingdom, he at the same Time  
 had secret Treaties with the Scotch Commis-  
 sioners, how he might embroil the Nation in a new  
 War, and destroy the Parliament : Concluding,  
 " That they might trouble themselves no fur-  
 ther with sending Messages or farther Propo-  
 sitions to the King, but that they might enter  
 upon those Counsels, which were necessary  
 towards the Settlement of the Kingdom, with-  
 out having further Recourse to him." Those  
 of his Party seconded this Motion with new Re-  
 proaches upon the Person of the King ; and after  
 several Days spent in passionate Debates on this  
 Matter, the House of Commons voted, First,  
 " That they will make no further Applications  
 or Addresses to the King. Secondly, That no  
 Addresses or Applications be made to the  
 King by any Person whatsoever, without Leave  
 from the Parliament. Thirdly, That they will  
 receive no more Messages from the King ; and  
 that no Person do presume to bring any Mes-  
 sage from him to the Parliament, or any other  
 Person. Fourthly, That the Person or Persons  
 who shall make Breach of these Orders  
 shall incur the Penalty of High-Treason.  
 And to these Votes the Lords soon after a-  
 greed.

Votes of  
no more  
Addresses  
to the  
King.

## Oliver Cromwell.

SOME give a larger Account of the Speeches of *Cromwell* and *Ireton* in this grand Debate. They say, that *Ireton* was the first that spake with Warmth, and that *Cromwell* seconded him; and that from the King's refusing to sign the four Acts, they infer'd, "That he had sufficiently declared himself for Arbitrary Government?" And alledg'd, "That he was no longer the Protector, but the Tyrant of his People; and consequently, that they were no longer his Subjects; and that they ought to govern without him; that their long Patience had avail'd nothing; and that it was expected from their Zeal to their Country, that they should take such Resolutions, as were worthy of an Assembly with whom the Nation had intrusted their Safety." They add, that as these two Persons were not only Members of the House, but also Chiefs in the Army; after they had first spoken under the former Character, they spake again in the other, to this Effect: *That they were well persuaded of the Parliament's good Intentions, and were assur'd, that without suffering themselves to be amused any longer, they would defend the Nation by their own proper Authority, and by the Courage of those valiant Men, that were enroll'd under their Banners, who by their Mouths gave them Assurances of their fidelity, which nothing could shake.* But have a care, said they, *that you do not give the Army, who sacrifice themselves for the Liberty of the Nation, any Grounds to suspect you of betraying them; and don't oblige them to look for their own Safety, and that of the Nation, in their own Strength, which they desire to owe to nothing, but to the Readiness and Vigour of your Resolutions.* This was bold Speech, if true; and 'tis farther said, that *Cromwell*, at the Conclusion of it, clapt his Hand upon his Sword.

1647.  
A further Account of the Speeches of *Cromwell* and *Ireton*.

THUS

1647. **T**HUS the Parliament and Army were united against the King ; and now Colonel *Rainsborough*, one of the Chief of the Levellers, was appointed Admiral of the Fleet ; and two or three Members of the House of Commons, of that Party, were sent down to the Head-Quarters at *Windsor*, with Orders, to discharge from Custody Captain *Reynolds*, and some others, who had been imprison'd by the Officers of the Army, for endeavouring to effect that which they themselves were now doing ; and to exhort the Officers to use their utmost Endeavours towards a speedy Settlement.

1648.

**D**iscon-  
tents and  
Tumults  
of the  
People.

BUT notwithstanding this Conjunction of the Parliament and Army, they could not enjoy their Power and Authority without great Disturbance and Opposition. The Votes of Non-Addressers had exceedingly enrag'd the Presbyterians as well as the Royal Party ; and the People in general began to be very uneasy and discontented. Taxes and Impositions were continually increased, and became almost an insupportable Burden to the Nation, and yet there was no likelihood of coming to a Settlement for the Ease of these Grievances ; and most believ'd there would never be any till the King was restor'd. Upon this, the People in many Parts of the Kingdom began to exert themselves in the behalf of their Sovereign, who, however closely confin'd in the Isle of *Wight*, still held a Correspondence in *England*, and had Intelligence from thence. Several Petitions were brought to the Parliament by great Numbers of People, in a tumultuous Manner, for a personal Treaty with the King ; of which the chief were those of *Surry*, *Essex* and *Kent* : And in many Places, the People began to think of taking up Arms for compassing these Designs. Besides, the *Scots*, pursuant to their Treaty with the King, were making all possible

Prepara-

Preparations for raising an Army; wherein the <sup>1648.</sup> *Presbyterians* and *Cavaliers* join'd, tho' with different Views; and the *Presbyterians* in *England*, discours'd freely of great Hopes from the other Kingdom. Thus the dark Clouds began to gather apace, and in a short Time a second Civil War infested the whole Nation.

IN the mean Time, as *Ludlow* tells us, Lieu-<sup>Cromwell's</sup> tenant-General *Cromwell* procur'd a Meeting of <sup>Manage-</sup>  
<sup>ment</sup> <sup>thereupon</sup> several leading Men of the *Presbyterian* and *Independent* Parties, both Members of Parliament and Ministers, at a Dinner in *Westminster*, in order to promote a Reconciliation between the two Interests: But he found it a Work too hard for him to heal the Differences and Animosities of these two prevailing Parties, one of which would endure no Superior the other no Equal; so that this Meeting came to nothing.

ANOTHER Conference was by his Contrivance held in *King-street*, between those call'd the <sup>trives a</sup> <sup>Confe-</sup> <sup>rence be-</sup> <sup>tween the</sup> <sup>mon-</sup> <sup>wealth's</sup> *Grandees* of the House and Army, and the *Commonwealth's-Men*; in which the *Grandees*, of whom *Cromwell* was the Head, deliver'd themselves with some Uncertainty, and would not declare their Opinions either for a <sup>mon-</sup> <sup>wealth's</sup> *chical*, *Aristocratical* or *Democratical* *Govern-* *Men*. *ment*, maintaining that any of them might be good in themselves or for the Nation, according as Providence should direct: Whilst the *Commonwealth-Men* would have it, that Monarchy was neither good in it self, nor for the Nation, and us'd several Arguments to confirm their Opinion, recommending at the same Time the Establishment of an equal Commonwealth; notwithstanding which the Lieutenant-General profess'd himself for the present to be unresolv'd; and the next Day passing by *Ludlow* in the House, he told him, *That he was indeed convinc'd*

1648. *vinc'd of the Desirableness of what was propos'd,  
but not of the Feasibleness of it.*

He courts CROMWELL, however, in these Times of the Commonwealth Party, thought fit to court the Commonwealth Party, and to that end invited some of them to confer with him at his Chamber. The next Time he came to the House of Commons, he inform'd Ludlow of it, who freely told him, *That he knew how to Cajole and give them good Words, when he had Occasion to make use of them.* Whereupon with some Passion he said, *They were a proud sort of People and only considerable in their own Conceits.* At another Time he complain'd to Ludlow, as they were walking in the Palace-Yard, of the unhappines of his Condition, having made the greatest Part of the Nation his Enemies, by adhering to a just Cause: But his greatest Trouble he said was, That many who were engag'd in the same Cause with him had entertain'd a Jealousy and Suspicion of him; which he affirm'd to be a great Discouragement to him. This shews, that notwithstanding his late Reconciliation with those call'd Levellers, they still suspected he was not true to their Cause; and yet, that he found himself under a Necessity of keeping as fair with them as possible.

TUMULTS and Insurrections still increasing, and all Things seeming to threaten a new War, Cromwell thought it likewise necessary to preserve a good Understanding between the Parliament and Army. He therefore got the General to write to the House of Lords, to assure them of the Army's Submission, and that they would act nothing but in Concert with the two Houses, and by their Order. Being likewise afraid of the City, he propos'd in the House of Commons to unite the Interests of the Parliament, the City, and the Army, and to make them

them (as he said) invincible, by making them 1648. inseparable. So a Treaty was set on Foot, in which indeed the Army was not mention'd, only that the two Regiments that had come into the City upon some Disturbance there, should be withdrawn; but the Treaty only mention'd the two Houses, and the City: And this Condition was sufficient for Cromwell at present; or he thereby prevented the Union, which the City was upon the Point of concluding with the Scotch Royalists; and besides, the Power which the Army had in the House, was at this Time sufficient to secure the City to them. But let us now see, how the second Civil War was manag'd, and the great Share of Success our Lieutenant-General had therein.



## C H A P. VIII.

*The second Civil War, and Cromwell's Actions in it.*

THE first that actually took up Arms, were the Welsh; and this they did under the conduct of Major-General *Laughorn*, Colonel *Poyer* and Colonel *Powel*, who had all three been formerly very zealous in acting on the Parliament's Side: but being now to be disbanded by Orders of the Council of War, they fusi'd to obey; and the better to secure themselves, declar'd for the King, and acted by commission and Powers from the Prince of Wales. Major-General *Stradling*, and other Royalists joining with *Laughorn*, he soon had the appearance of a considerable Army, which very shortly enabled him to possess himself of the Town

1648: Town and Castles of *Pembroke* and *Tenby*; at which Time *Chepstow-Castle* was likewise surpriz'd by Sir *Nicholas Kemish*. The Preparations in *Kent* for a War were not less formidable; for great Numbers in that County rendezvousing near *Rochester*, they chose *Goring Earl of Norwich*, who was then with them, for their General; and they soon receiv'd a considerable Addition to their Strength, by great Numbers of Apprentices and reform'd Officers and Soldiers daily flocking from *London* to their Quarters; which so frightned the two Houses, that they presently restor'd to the City their *Militia*; and *Skippon* being re-admitted to the Command of their Forces, they interrupted the Communication with *Kent*, by placing Guards upon the Passages of the River. The Increase of the *Kentish* Forces so animated the Seamen, that a considerable Part of the Navy, with Captain *Batten*, sometime Vice-Admiral to the Earl of *Warwick*, revolted from the Parliament, and put themselves under the Power of Prince *Charles*. But the fiercest Storm was threatned from the Preparations in the *North*, where Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and others of the King's Party, having surpriz'd the strong Town of *Berwick*, and Sir *Philip Musgrave*, and Sir *Thomas Glemham*, that of *Carlisle*, had rais'd a considerable Body to join with the *Scots*, who were now about to enter *England* with a powerful Army. Besides this, the Earl of *Holland*, with the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Francis* his Brother, the Earl of *Peterborough* and some other Persons of Quality, having form'd a Party of about five hundred Horse with some Foot, for his Majesty's Service, appear'd with them near *Kingston*, and declar'd against the Parliament. Several Castles were seiz'd and declar'd for the King; and among the rest *Pomfret* was artfully

surpriz'd by Major Morrice : And there was scarce 1648.  
a County in England, where there was not some ~~some~~  
Association forming to appear in Arms for the  
King.

THESE vigorous Preparations for a War be- Proceed-  
came very formidable to those at Westminster ; ings of the  
who hereupon appointed a Committee of Safety Parlia-  
ment for the Common-wealth, which daily sat at Der- thereup-  
y-House, and consisted of twenty Persons, viz. on.  
even Lords, and thirteen of the House of  
Commons, of whom Lieutenant-General Cromwell  
was one. This Committee had Power given them  
to suppress all Tumults and Insurrections, and for  
that end to raise Forces as they saw Occasion.  
And then for the more speedy Suppression of the  
several Insurrections, the Army was divided, and  
small Parties sent to those Places where the Roy-  
alists were weakest. Fairfax, Lambert, and Crom-  
well commanded the rest, every one marching  
several Way ; Fairfax into Kent, Lambert in  
the North, and Cromwell into Wales, who  
as afterwards to march into the North and join  
Lambert.

THE Earl of Holland and Duke of Bucking- Several  
ton were soon defeated by a Party of Horse  
and Foot that was sent after them, under the  
command of Sir Michael Livesey. The Earl was  
taken Prisoner ; the Duke after losing his Brother,  
the Lord Francis, narrowly escap'd, and went over  
to France. The Earl of Warwick, with the  
fleet equipped for him by the Parliament, fell  
down the River towards Prince Charles, who  
with the revolted Ships had block'd up the Mouth  
of the Thames, where he lay some time in Ex-  
citement, presuming that the Earl would not  
attack him, and might perhaps come over to him :  
but perceiving, by the Manner of his Approach,  
that he was mistaken in that Particular, he thought  
to make all the Sail he could for the Coast

1647. of Holland. The Castles of Deal and Sandwich were reduc'd by Colonel Rich; and many of the revolted Ships not finding Things according to their Expectation, return'd to the Obedience of the Parliament. In the mean Time General Fairfax routed the Kentish Royalists at Maidstone, and drove the Lord Goring with his Men into Essex; where, tho' join'd by the Lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and others, Fairfax forc'd them to shut themselves up in Colchester, where he besieg'd them, and lay before the Place a long Time; but having compell'd them at last to surrender upon such Conditions as he would allow them, Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle were shot to Death by Sentence of the Council of War, and the Lords Goring and Capel, were sent Prisoners to Windsor-Castle. But passing by these things, as not so immediately concerning our present Design, let us see what Share of Glory Lieutenant-General Cromwell acquir'd by his Successes in this War.

*Cromwell* being sent into Wales to reduce the King's Party in Wales. In order to effect this, he sent Colonel Horton thither before him with about three thousand Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, he himself following with as many Forces as could be spar'd from the Army. Being within three or four Days march of the Colonel, he receiv'd Information, that Laughorn with an Army of near eight thousand, had engag'd him at St. Fagons in Glamorganshire; and upon the first Charge his Forces gave Ground but afterwards reflecting on the Danger they were in, the Country being full of Enemies, they charg'd the Van of the Royalists, where the best of Laughorn's Men were, with such Fury and resolution, that they oblig'd them to give way which those in the Rear, being mostly new-raised Men, perceiving, they began to shift for themselves.

*Who defeats Langhorn's Army.*

selves: Upon which *Horton's Men* prosecuted their Advantage with so much Vigor and Success, that the whole Body of their Enemies was soon routed, fifteen hundred slain, and near three thousand taken Prisoners.

UPON this *Cromwell* hastens to join him; and in his March comes before *Chepstow*, where they drew out some Forces against him: But *Colonel Pride's Men* fell on so furiously that they gain'd the Town, and beat the Soldiers into the Castle; which being strongly fortify'd, and well provided, *Cromwell* sent to *Bristol* for some great Guns, and hastening into *Pembrokeshire*, left *Colonel Ewer* to prosecute the Siege; who having made a Breach on the 25<sup>th</sup> of *May*, resolutely attack'd and carried the Castle Sword in Hand; *Sir Nicholas Kemish*, who commanded there, being slain, and an hundred and twenty taken Prisoners.

*CROMWELL* being arriv'd in *Pembrokeshire*, first orders the storming of *Tenby* with *Colonel Overton's Regiment*, and part of *Sir W. Constable's*, commanded by *Lieutenant Colonel Read*; and so after several furious Assaults, the Town first, and then the Castle surrender'd upon Mercy.

*LAUGHORN* and *Powel*, after their Defeat Takes by *Colonel Horton*, escap'd to *Pembroke*, which *Poyer* kept for them. Here they thought themselves safe when, *Cromwell* appearing, besiege'd *Pembroke Town* and *Castle*. them himself in Person in that Place: But that dreadful Name did not so discourage them, but that, being fully perswaded that the stopping of that General would be as good as a Victory, when the Parliament had so much Work on their Hands elsewhere, they resolv'd to stand out, and defended themselves long enough to have wearied out almost any other Man, as little us'd to be baffled as *Cromwell*. On the contrary, the Rumour

1648. mour of the Scotch Invasion daily increasing, animated the Lieutenant-General to employ all his Skill and Vigor for the Redu<sup>t</sup>ion of this important Place. The Garrison within, as has been said, was strong and resolute, and the Place well fortify'd, which however he was resolv'd to attempt by Storm; and falling on with singular Courage, met with gallant Resistance: After which, not thinking it adviseable to expose his Men to new Hazards, he determined to gain that by Famine, which could not so well be effected by Force. And this he was the rather induc'd to do, for that he had certain Intelligence of the small Quantity of Provisions they had in the Town and Castle; and then, Divisions began to arise amongst them, which at length grew to that height, that the Soldiers were ready to mutiny against their Commanders; crying out, *We shall be starved for two or three Mens Pleasures, better it were that we should throw them over the Walls.* Accordingly, Cromwell order'd stri<sup>t</sup> Guard to be kept in his Trenches, to keep them from running out; which Order being well observ'd, they were compell'd at length to desire a Parley, and on the 11th of July surrender'd the Town and Castle to him upon Articles. *Laughorn, Poyer, and Powel,* and some other Officers, render'd themselves Prisoners at Mercy. Sir Charles Kemish, Sir Henry Stradling, and about ten more Officers and Gentlemen, were to depart the Kingdom within six Weeks, and not to return in two Years; and all the rest to have Liberty to go to their Homes, and not to be plunder'd. The sick and wounded were to be taken Care of; the Towns-men not to be plunder'd, but to enjoy their Liberty as formerly; and together with the Town and Castle, the Arms, Ammunition and Provisions were to be deliver'd up to Lieutenant-

tenant-General *Cromwell*, for the use of the 1648.  
Parliament. *Laughorn*, *Poyer*, and *Powel* were afterwards condemn'd by Sentence of a Court Martial; but having the Favour to draw Lots which of them should die, the other two to be spar'd, the Lot fell upon Colonel *Poyer*, who was accordingly shot to Death in *Covent-Garden*.

ABOUT the Time that *Pembroke* was reduc'd, *Duke Hamilton* enter'd *England* with an Army of about twenty thousand *Scots*, who were farther strengthen'd by the Accession of about five thousand *English*, under the Command of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*. *Scotland* was at this Time divided into two Parties, very violent in their Opposition one to the other; the rigid *Presbyterians*, who so ador'd the *Covenant*, in the strictest Sense of the Letter, that they would not depart from the most rigid Clause in it, and were utterly against having any Thing to do with the *Cavaliers* in this Expedition; and these were headed by the Marquess of *Argyle*: And the *Hamiltonian* Party, who were in effect for restoring the King without any Terms, tho' at the same Time, in order to the more easy compassing of their Designs, they pretended a great Generation for the same *Covenant*. Now, tho' the former was a strong Party, and their Number very great; yet the others had manag'd so exterously in getting such Elections of Members of the Parliament, as might enable them to try their Point, that when it came to a Trial that assembly, the Anti-Covenanters carry'd before them; so that instead of the Marquis *Argyle*, the Duke of *Hamilton*, who was the ef of this latter Party, was appointed General of their Army, all the inferior Officers be of the same Mold and Principle; insomuch t the Pulpits, which before had proclaimed

1648. this War, now accompany'd the Army that was  
 marching into *England*, with their Curses.

*Cromwell*  
marches  
against  
them.

THE House of Commons receiving Intelligence that the *Scots* had invaded *England*, declar'd them to be Enemies, and order'd Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* to advance towards them, and fight them. Accordingly, having compleated the Reduction of *Wales*, *Cromwell* march'd towards the *North* with all his Power; and sent to Major-General *Lambert*, desiring him not to engage with the *Scots*, till he came up to him and joind him. *Lambert* therefore skilfully endeavour'd, rather to harrass the *Scotch* Army than to fight it; and chose rather to let them advance, that they might have the longer Way to retreat Home; and he found his Task with them much the easier, by reason of their several unseasonable Halts, by which Means the Army was daily diminish'd, and often separated to their great Disadvantage; all which was owing either to dark Designs in the Army, Divisions, or weak Management.

A Charge WHILST *Cromwell* was on his March north of High-wards, a Charge of High-Treason was fram'd against him by Major *Huntingdon*, beforement fram'd against him to no Purpose. *Huntingdon* on'd, with the Advice of some Members of both Houses, for endeavouring, by betraying the King, Parliament, and Army, to advance himself. But it being manifest, as *Ludlow* observes that the preferring such an Accusation at the Time, was chiefly design'd to take him from his Command, and thereby to weaken the Army, that their Enemies might the more easily prevail against them; the Parliament thought most adviseable to discountenance any Thing that Nature.

He defeats To proceed: *Cromwell* having join'd *Lambert* the *Scots* at *Preston* and other Places. both Armies met on the 17th of August, ne-

the  
tow  
Paf  
grea  
Cron

Am

Army had the Honour of the Van, and for a Time, engag'd *Cromwell's Men* with much Bravery; but were at last so vigorously press'd upon by them, that they were forc'd to retreat to a Pass, which they endeavour'd to maintain, whilst they sent to the Duke for Succour; which he not sending, they began to shift for themselves; tho' *Langdale* afterwards declar'd, *That if one thousand Foot had been sent to him, he verily believe'd he should have gain'd the Day*; and *Cromwell* himself acknowledg'd, *That he never saw Foot fight so desperately as they did*. The Scots perceiving the Disorder their English Friends were put into, it made such an Impression upon them, that they soon follow'd their Example, retreating in a disorderly manner; but were so closely pursu'd by *Cromwell*, that many of their Foot threw down their Arms, and yielded themselves Prisoners, and many were slain. Several principal Officers of their Foot were likewise taken, with all their Artillery, Ammunition and Baggage. Many of their Horse fled towards *Lancaster*, and were pursu'd near ten Miles with great Execution.

THE Duke march'd away in the Night, with about eight thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; and *Cromwell* follow'd him with about three thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred Horse and Dragoons, killing and taking several in the way; but by that time the rest of his Army was come up, the Duke recover'd *Wigan*, before they could attempt any Thing upon them. All that Night they lay in the Field dirty and weary, and had some skirmishing with the Enemy, who the next Morning march'd towards *Warrington*, and made a Stand at a Pass, which for many Hours was disputed with great Resolution on both Sides: But at length *Cromwell* beat them from their standing, kill'd

1648. about one thousand of them, and took about two thousand Prisoners. He pursu'd them home to *Warrington Town*, where they possess'd themselves of the Bridge; but *Cromwell* coming thither, Lieutenant-General *Bayly* desir'd to capitulate, and had no other Terms given him than, *That he should surrender himself and all his Officers and Soldiers Prisoners of War, with all his Arms, Ammunition, &c.* which was accordingly done; and here were taken four thousand compleat Arms and as many Prisoners, and the Duke's Infantry was totally ruin'd; who with his remaining Horse march'd towards *Nantwich*, where the Gentlemen of the Country took about five hundred of them, and kill'd several; and *Cromwell* sent Post to the Lord *Grey*, Sir *H. Cholmeley*, and Sir *Ed. Roade*, to gather all together with speed for the Pursuit of the Enemy. And so Duke *Hamilton* being press'd upon by the Country, fled at last to *Uxeter* in *Staffordshire*; where, with about three thousand Horse which he had with him, he was taken, and sent Prisoner to *Windfor Castle*. Thus the whole *Scotch Army*, which had occasion'd so much Terror, was routed and defeated; and what is most remarkable, is, that all this great Victory was obtain'd by *Cromwell*, with an Army amounting to scarce above a third Part of the *Scots* in Number, if they had been all together; the Conduct of this General, and the Goodness of his Troops, making amends for the smallness of the Number, which was not diminish'd half a hundred in gaining this Victory, after the *English* under *Langdale* had been beaten. And tho' indeed the Circumstances of this Victory are variously related by Historians, yet all agree in attributing the Honour of it to *Cromwell*. All the Enemy's Cannon and Baggage was taken, with their Colours;

and

and only some of their Horse, which had been quarter'd most backward, made haste to carry News to their Country, of the ill Success of their Arms. They who did not take the Way for *Scotland*, were, for the most part, taken by the Activity of the Country, or the Horse that pursu'd them. And Sir Marmaduke *Langdale*, after he had made his way with some of his Men, who continu'd with him till they found it safest to disperse themselves, was discover'd; and being taken Prisoner was convey'd to the Castle of *Nottingham*, from whence afterwards he had the good Fortune to escape.

LIEUTENANT-General *Cromwell* having thus Marched defeated the *Scots* under Duke *Hamilton*, re-against resolv'd to prosecute the Advantage, by marching with all possible Speed against *Monroe*, who as come into *England*, as a Reserve to the Duke, with above six thousand Horse and Foot, and had march'd almost to the Borders of *Lancashire*: But having Notice given him, that *Cromwell* was advancing towards him, and not thinking he should be able to stand before him, who but just before had defeated an Army so much exceeding his own, made what hast he could back into *Scotland*.

*CROMWELL* having thus rid the whole Nation in general of a great Fear, and eas'd the North in particular of that grievous Burthen they groan'd under, by the Plunder and oppression of the *Scotch* Army, resolv'd to prosecute his Victory to the utmost, by entering into *Scotland* it self, that he might effectually root out there whatever threatned any further Disturbance. It was generally believ'd, that the Marquis of *Argyle* earnestly invited to this Progress; for notwithstanding Duke

1648. *Hamilton's* Defeat, his Brother the Earl of *Lanwick* still bore all the Sway in the Committee of Parliament, as well as in the Council; and the Troops which *Monroe* had rais'd for the Recruit of the Duke's Army, were still together, which the few Forces rais'd by *Argyle* were not sufficient to oppose. However, if he did not invite *Cromwell*, tis certain he was very glad of his coming, and made all possible haste to bid him welcome at his Entrance into the Kingdom.

Reduces  
*Carlisle*  
and *Ber-  
wick*.

Enters  
*Scotland*  
and pub-  
lishes a  
Declarati-  
on.

*CROMWELL* with his victorious Army continuing his March towards *Scotland*, in his Way reduc'd *Carlisle* and *Berwick* to their former Obedience, both being deliver'd up to him on Composition. Being just ready to enter the Kingdom, he drew his Army to a Rendezvous on the Banks of the *Tweed*, and order'd Proclamation to be made at the Head of every Regiment, that none of them should force from the *Scotch* People any of their Cattle or Goods upon pain of Death; but that in all Things they should behave themselves civilly in the March and Quarters, giving no Offence to any. As he enter'd *Scotland*, he declar'd, " That he came with his Army to free the Kingdom from a Force, which it was under from malignant Men, who had forc'd the Nation to break the Friendship with their Brethren *England* who had been so faithful to them. That it having pleas'd God to defeat the my under Duke *Hamilton*, who endeavour'd to engage the Nations in each others Blood, he was come thither to prevent any further Mischief, and to remove those from Authority who had us'd their Power so ill; that he hop'd he should in very few Days return with an Assurance of the Brothers Affection of that Kingdom to the Parliament."

of England, which did not desire in any Degree to invade their Liberties, or infringe their Privileges." Upon this the Earl of Warwick, and all the Hamiltonian Party withdrew from Edinburgh; and they who continu'd here were resolv'd to comply with Argyle, who they now saw could prote&t them.

CROMWELL march'd directly for Edinburgh, Marches and in his Way was met by many of the Scotch <sup>to Edin-</sup> Nobility and Gentry from the Committee of Estates, with congratulatory Orations in Honour of his worthy Atchievements; acknowledging that his Presence would conduce much to the composing of the Distractions of the Kingdom. Being His Reception conducted to Edinburgh by the Marquis of <sup>there.</sup> Argyle, and the rest that came to meet him, he was receiv'd there with all Solemnity, and the Respect due to the Deliverer of their Country. His Army was quarter'd about, and supply'd with all Provisions the Country could afford; and himself was lodg'd in the Earl of Surrey's House, where resorted to him the Lord Chancellor, with many others of the Nobility and Gentry. The Lord Provost, with several eminent Citizens, came likewise to welcome him thither, and present their Service to him. Thus the Scotch Presbyterians, who late-  
look'd upon the Independent Party as the worst of their Enemies, now own'd and embrac'd his Sectarian Army, (as they before call'd it) as their best Friends and Deliverers.

LIEUTENANT-General Cromwell had not been <sup>He dispe-</sup> sses the  
at Edinburgh, before he demanded of the Committee of Estates, that they would seclude <sup>Hamilton-</sup> him from all publick Trusts, all who had any hand in, or did in the least promote Duke Hamilton's late Invasion: To which the Committee gave a satisfactory Answer. Several other Demands were likewise made by him, with which the

1648. the Committee comply'd; and he reserv'd Liberty for the Parliament of *England*, to make such further Demands, as they should think requisite. Whilst he staid with them, the Committee sent an Order and Command to *Monroe* to disband his Troops; which when he seem'd resolv'd not to do, he soon perceiv'd that *Cromwell* must be the Arbitrator; and thereupon he very punctually obey'd the Orders of the Committee.

*CROMWELL* having thus finish'd what he came about, began to prepare for his Return to *England*; but before he left them, the Committee fearing some new Disturbance might arise after the Departure of the *English* Army, requested him, that he would leave some Forces with them, which might be ready to suppress any Insurrections; promising, that when they had rais'd a sufficient Force for their own Defence, they would dismiss them, and send them back into their own Country. To this *Cromwell* readily yielded, and appointed Major-General *Lambert*, with three Regiments of Horse, for the said Service.

MATTERS having been thus concerted to the Satisfaction of both Parties, the *Scots* invited *Cromwell* and the chief Officers of his Army to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, whither they were all convey'd in Coaches, and were magnificently treated at a Banquet prepar'd for them; and at their Departure, they were saluted by all the Cannon of the Castle, and many Vollsies of small Shot. On the 16<sup>th</sup> of October, *Cromwell* left *Edinburgh*, being conducted several Miles on his Way by the Marquis of *Argyle* and many others of the *Scotch* Nobility; and at their parting, great Demonstrations of Affection pass'd betwixt them. Soon after, the Committee of Estates sent Letters to the Parliament of *England*, acknowledging, "That

Is magnificently treated.  
And returns for  
*England*.

"they

they were sensible of the Benefit to *Scotland*, 1648.  
against the Enemies of both Nations, by the  
coming thither of the Forces under Lieute-  
nant-General *Cromwell*, and Major-General  
*Lambert*; and that the Deportment of the  
Officers and Soldiers had been so fair and civil,  
that they trusted by their Carriage the Malig-  
nants would be much convinc'd and disappoint-  
ed, and the Amity of both Kingdoms strength-  
en'd and confirm'd; which they, on their Part,  
should likewise study to preserve."

*CROMWELL* arriving at *Newcastle* with his Army arrives at  
was nobly treated there, and welcom'd *New-Ca-*  
th great Guns, ringing of Bells, and other Re-*file*, and  
vings. From hence he bends his Course direct-*re-inforce*  
to *Carlisle*, having first order'd some Forces for the Siege  
lengthening the Siege of *Pontefract* or *Pomfret*-*of Pom-*  
*fret*. This Place, tho' not very great, was ve-  
considerable for its Strength, but most remark-  
le for the Valour of those who defended it,  
hereby it became famous at this Time all over  
the Kingdom. The Garrison consisted of about  
ur hundred Foot, and a hundred and thirty  
orse, all bold and resolute Men, as appear'd by  
eir Actions. One time a Party of Horse issu-  
g out of the Castle, took Sir *Arthur Ingram*,  
d carrying him in, oblig'd him to pay one thou-  
and five hundred Pounds for his Ransom, before  
could get out again. At another time Cap-  
n-*Clayton*, and most of his Troop were seiz'd  
on by them, and made Prisoners. They like-  
le fetch'd two hundred Head of Cattle, with  
any Horses, into the Castle, whilst Sir *Henry*  
bolmly lay before it with his Forces, to keep  
em in. But the boldest Action of all was this:  
e Morning before Day, there fallied out about  
erty Horse, who hasten'd away to *Doncaster*, where  
olonel *Rainsborough*, who had a Commission to  
mand in chief before the Castle, then quar-  
ter'd.

1648. ter'd. Being come near the Town, three of the Party leaving their Companions without, with great Confidence march'd in, and enquir'd for General Rainsborough's Quarters; which being inform'd of, they enter'd, pretending they came to deliver a Letter to him, from Lieutenant-General Cromwell. When they came to him, being Bed, they told him he was their Prisoner; upon his Refusal to go silently with them, they run him thro' with their Swords, so that he immediately expir'd. And altho' his Forces kept Guard in the Town, these bold Fellows with all their gallant Party, got back into Castle in the middle of the Day.

Comes  
thither  
himself,  
and leav-  
ing Lam-  
bert before  
it marches  
for London.

To repres these insolent Proceedings, Cromwell, immediately after he had setteld the rest Northern Parts in Peace and Quietness, came the Leaguer himself; and having order'd the several Posts for a close Siege, which put a stop to their thus ranging abroad, he left Major-General Lambert, who was just come out of Scotland, with a strong Party before it, to compleat the Work whilst himself took his March directly for London.



## C H A P. IX.

*From the second civil War, to the King's Death.*

BEFORE we prosecute our Relation of the Proceedings of Cromwell and the Army from his Return out of Scotland, to the King's Death, it will be necessary to look a little back and see how Matters were carried in the Parliament.

SOON after the Army was remov'd from *London*, by reason of the late Insurrections, those of the secluded Members who were in *England*, ven-<sup>Proceed-</sup>  
<sup>ings in the</sup>  
tur'd to return to their former Seats, and the <sup>Parlia-</sup>  
Presbyterians began to prevail again in the House; <sup>ment.</sup>

*Cromwell* and the other Officers who were Members of the House, had not been long absent before the Common-Council of the City thought fit to present a Petition to the Parliament for a personal Treaty with the King, as the only way to restore the Nation to a happy Peace. This appear'd so much to be the Sense of the City, that the Parliament durst not positively reject it; and indeed the greatest Part of them did at this time very much desire the same Thing. Hereupon Sir *Henry Vane*, with the rest of the Army-party in the House, were forc'd to contrive some specious way to delay it, by seeming to consent to it. And so a Committee of the Commons being appointed to confer with a Committee of the City, about Means to provide for the King's Safety during the Time of the Treaty, the former perplex'd the other with various Questions, to which they knew there could be no Answer given without first calling another Common-Council to receive further Instructions. By this Device, and by starting new Questions at every meeting, much Time was spent, and the desir'd delays obtain'd. However, the Parliament at <sup>They re-</sup> declar'd, "That they would enter into a per-<sup>solve up-</sup>  
<sup>sonal</sup> <sup>on a per-</sup>  
sonal Treaty with his Majesty for settling the <sup>onal</sup> <sup>Treaty</sup> <sup>with the</sup> Peace of the Kingdom; and that the Treaty should be in the Isle of *Wight*, where his Ma- <sup>King.</sup>  
jesty should enjoy Honour, Freedom and Safe-  
ty." And Commissioners were sent from both  
houses to inform the King, "That the Parliament desir'd a Treaty with his Majesty upon the Propositions tender'd to him at *Hampton-*  
*Court,*

1648. "Court, and such others as should be presented  
 to him."

THEY were no sooner return'd from the *Isle of Wight* with the King's Answer, but the Parliament had notice of the Defeat of the Scotch Army; and *Cromwell* had written to his Friends

*Cromwell writes to his Friends against it.* "That it would be such a perpetual Ignominy "to the Parliament, that no Body Abroad or at Home would ever give Credit to them, if they should recede from their former Vote and Declaration of no more Addresses to the King "conjuring them to continue firm in that Resolution." But the Parliament had made too great a Step to go back from what they were now upon; and since the first Motion for a Treaty, many absent Members resorted to the House and promoted the Design; so that they were much more numerous than those who labour'd to obstruct it: And so, notwithstanding all Opposition it was declar'd, "That the Votes of No-Addres- ses should stand repeal'd; that the Treaty should be at *Newport*; and that his Majesty should be there with the same Freedom, as when he was at *Hampton-Court*; that the Instructions given to Colonel *Hammond*, for the more strict confining him, should be recal'd; and that all whom the King had nam'd, should have Liberty to repair to him, and remain with him undisturb-ed." Then they nominated five Lords and ten of the House of Commons to be their Commissioners to treat with the King, and order'd them to hasten the Treaty with all possible Expedition. But Sir *Henry Vane* being one of them, us'd all his Arts to delay it, as he had done before with the Parliament, in hopes that *Cromwell* would finish Matters in *Scotland* time enough to return

What ha-stned Cromwell's return to London. and to use more effectual Means to obstruct it than he was furnish'd with. *Cromwell* was very well appriz'd of these Proceedings, which made him

im think, that his Presence at the Parliament 1648.  
was so necessary to restrain the Presbyterians,  
who ceas'd not to vex him at any Distance,  
that he would not be prevail'd with to tar-  
and finish that only difficult Work which  
remain'd, viz. the reducing Pomfret-Castle, but  
leaving it to Lambert, continued his March for  
London; as before related.

FORTY Days were appointed for the Tre-  
; which being expired, and all Men thinking  
e Treaty was ended, the Commissioners receiv-  
new Orders and Instructions to enlarge it four-  
en Days longer, and after that to continue it  
ur Days more, and last of all one Day more:  
after which the Commissioners return'd ; and The Ar-  
hilst their Report was under Consideration my pre-  
the House, the large Remonstrance of the <sup>large</sup> present their  
my was brought from the Head-Quarters, Remon-  
which was now at Windsor, to the House of strance  
Commons; in which they desired, " That the to the  
Parliament would lay aside all further Pro- House  
ceedings in this Treaty, and return to their  
Vote of No-Addressess; that the King might  
come no more to Government, but be brought  
to Justice, as the capital Cause of all the Evils  
in the Kingdom; that a Day might be set  
for the Prince and the Duke of York, to appear  
and answer to such Things as might be laid to  
their Charge ; and if they fail'd herein, they  
might be declar'd Traitors: That an End  
might be put to this Parliament, and a new  
Representative of the People chosen, for the  
governing and preserving the whole Body of  
the Nation : That no King might be hereaf-  
ter admitted, but upon Election of, and in  
Trust for the People, &c." In Conclusion,  
They presf these Things, as good for this and  
other Kingdoms, and hope it will not be taken  
ill, because from an Army, and so Servants,

1648. "when their Masters are Servants, and Trustees  
 for the Kingdom."

Great  
Contests  
between  
the Parli-  
ament and  
Army.

THIS Remonstrance put the House into a great Confusion; but that which occasion'd the greatest Confusion, was the News from the Isle of Wight, that *Hammond* was discharged, and Colonel *Ewer* had carried away the King to *Hurst-Castle*. Upon this, the House, which was then in the Heat of the Debate upon the King's Answer, immediately desisted, and voted, "That the carrying the King to *Hurst-Castle*, was without their Advice and Consent;" and sent a Letter to the General, "That the Orders and Instructions to Colonel *Ewer* were contrary to those given to Colonel *Hammond*; and therefore it was the Pleasure of the House, that he should recal those Orders, and that Colonel *Hammond* should again resume the Care of the King's Person." But the General in Return, demanded the Arrears due to the Army, and declar'd, That unless there were present Money sent for that Purpose, he should be obliged to remove the Army nearer to *London*. At the same Time the Army sent a new Declaration to the House, in Pursuance of their late Remonstrance; which the House refus'd to take into Consideration; and some resolute Members moved, "That the Army might be declared to be traitors, if they presumed to march nearer *London* than they were at present; and that the Impeachment of High-Treason might be drawn up against the principal Officers of it." He upon the General marched directly to *London*, quartered at *White-Hall*; and other Officers with their Troops in *Durham-House*, the *Mews*, *Vest-Garden*, and *St. James's*; and to supply present Necessity, and prevent all Inconveniences, they sent to the City for forty thousand Pounds to be issued out without Delay, for the Army.

The Army mar-  
ches to  
*London*.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, the Party in 1648.<sup>the House who were Friends to the Treaty,</sup> Notwithstanding resolv'd still to exert themselves; upon which there follow'd a violent Struggle between them and those on the contrary Side, which continu'd Com-<sup>mons vote</sup>  
 a whole Day and Night together: And about five in the Morning, December 5, they first put the Question, *Whether the Question should be put?* and carry'd it by a hundred and forty Voices against a hundred and four; so that they pass'd the grand Question, and voted without dividing, *that his Majesty's Concessions to the Propositions upon the Treaty, were sufficient Grounds for the Parliament to proceed upon for the Settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom.* And to prevent any After-Claps, they appointed a Committee to confer with the General, for the better procuring good Intelligence and Correspondence between the Army and the Parliament; and then adjourn'd till the next Morning.

THE Officers and Army finding the Parlia- Upon ment thus resolute in opposing their Designs, and which the hat their coming into the City was not a suf- Army sei- ficient Check upon them, resolv'd now to exert veral themselves to purpose. Accordingly some Regi- Members, ents of Horse and Foot being sent to Westmin- and pur- ter, they set Guards upon all the Avenues to the ges the Parliament-House, and seized upon one and forty of the Members, as they were entering. And they made Prisoners of these, so about an hun- dred more were denied Entrance into the House; hereupon the rest of the Presbyterian Party be- g somewhat dismay'd at the Treatment of their fellow-Members, declin'd coming to the House, leaving it to the Possession of about an hundred and fifty; who being for the most part Offi- cers of the Army, were disposed to do eve- thing according to the Direction of their leaders.

1648. THE Army having thus purged the House from all they either knew or suspected to be Enemies to their Designs, Lieutenant Colonel *Axtel* came in, and presented to the remaining Members the Proposals of the Army, setting forth,

" That they had for a long While sadly been held and tasted in their Proceedings, the miserable Effects of Counsels divided and corrupted by Faction, and personal Interest; and desiring, that all faithful Members would accordingly quit themselves by a Protestation of their non concurring in the late Proceedings, and would then speedily and vigorously proceed to take Order for the Execution of Justice."

*Cromwell arrives, and receives the Thanks of the House.* THE Night after this Interruption was given to the House, Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* arrived in Town, and lay at *White-Hall*; and the next Day taking his Place in Parliament, he had the hearty Thanks of the House given him for his great and faithful Services perform'd for the Nation; which he receiv'd with the greatest Appearance of Humility, (as he was used to do) not taking to himself the least of all those great Things performed by him, but ascribing them wholly to God, the Giver of all Victory.

*He is supposed to have the chief hand in the late Proceedings.* *CROMWELL*, tho absent, is generally supposed to have influenc'd in all the late Proceedings and to be the chief Promoter of them. 'Tis said that at the Leaguer before *Pomfret*, he induced all the Regiments under him to petition against the Treaty, and for Justice on the King; that 'twas by his Advice and Direction that the Remonstrance of the Army was drawn up and presented to the House; and some say, that 'twas he that sent Colonel *Ewer* to remove the King *Hurst-Castle*. 'Tis certain, that both he and his Son-in-law *Ireton* had a very great Influence on the General, and could manage him almost every Thing as they pleas'd. However it w-

*Cromwe*

Cromwell upon his Arrival, declar'd at White-Hall, and other Places, *That he had not been acquainted with the Design* (of the Army's interrupting the House); yet since it was done, he was glad of it, and would endeavour to maintain it.

THE Remnant of the House of Commons immediately renew'd their Votes of Non-Addresses to the King, and annull'd all those that introduc'd and succeeded the Treaty; and particularly resolv'd, *That the King's Answer to their Propositions was not satisfactory.* Soon after it was mov'd in the House, to proceed capitally against the King, when Cromwell stood up and declar'd, "That if any Man mov'd this upon Design, he should think him the greatest Traitor in the World; but since Providence and Necessity had cast them upon it, he would pray God to bless their Counsels, tho' he was not provided on the sudden to give them Counsel." On

December 16th, a Party of Horse was sent over The King to Hurst-Castle, to bring the King to Windsor; who lay at Farnham on the 22d, and was deliver'd up at Windsor-Castle the Day following, Colonel Harrison commanding the Guards about him. Soon after, the Council of War order'd, *that nothing should be done upon the Knee to the King; that all Ceremonies of State us'd to him should be left off, and his Attendance should be with fewer Persons and at less Charge.*

NEXT Day the Committee of the Commons, Ordinance for which had been appointed to draw up a Charge against the King, reported an Ordinance for impeaching Charles Stuart King of England of High-Treason; and for trying him by Commissioners to be nominated in the said Ordinance; which being agreed to by the Commons, was on January 2d, carry'd up to the Lords for their Concurrence. But upon their rejecting it, the Commons pass'd these remarkable Votes; First, *That the People*

1648. are, under God, the Original of all just Power. Secondly, That the Commons of England, being chosen by, and representing the People, are the supreme Power of the Nation. Thirdly, That whatsoever is enacted or declar'd for Law, by the House of Commons assembled in Parliament, hath the Force of Law, tho' the Consent of the King and House of Peers be not had thereunto.

**H**igh-Court of Justice erected. THEN they proceeded to constitute and erect a Court, to be call'd the *High-Court of Justice*, which should have Authority to try the King, and to examine Witnesses for that Purpose.

The Number of the Commissioners nominated were a hundred and thirty five, whereof twenty or more had Power to proceed. They consisted promiscuously of Members of the House, Officers of the Army, Citizens and Country Gentlemen. About fifty that were nam'd, refus'd to act, of which Number were the Speaker *Lenthal*, and General *Fairfax*. Of those who acted, Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, and Commissary-General *Ireton* were next the President. The Commissioners made choice of Serjeant *Bradshaw* for that Office, and nominated Mr. *Steel* to be Attorney-General, Mr. *Cook* Sollicitor, Dr. *Dorislaus* and Mr. *Ask* to be Pleaders against the King; and *Westminster-Hall* was appointed to be the Place of Trial: In order to which solemn Transaction, the

**The King remov'd from Windsor to St. James's** King was brought from *Windsor* to St. James's by Colonel *Harrison*.

ON the Way *Harrison* observ'd, that the King was under an Apprehension of a fix'd Purpose to murder him; and that he let fall some Words of the *Odiousness and Wickedness* of such an *Affiliation*, which could never be safe to the Person who undertook it: Whereupon he took Occasion to assure him, That he needed not to entertain any such *Imagination*; that the Parliament had too much Honour and Justice to cherish so foul an Intention.

vention; that whatever the Parliament resolv'd to do would be very publick, and in a way of Justice, which the World should be Witness; and that they would never endure a Thought of secret Violence. But his Majesty could not believe him; nor did he imagine they would ever venture to proceed against him in the Way of a publick trial, before all the People.

ALL the King's Friends both at home and abroad now gave him for lost; and yet they did not neglect to make their utmost Efforts to save him. The States-General order'd their Ambassador to reprent to the Parliament, that the course they were going to take with the King, would be a lasting Reproach to the Protestant Interest. The Prince of *Wales*, and Prince of *Orange*, daily sent, as Agents, the Kindred and Relations of *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and other Judges appointed to try his Majesty, with Commission to offer any Thing, and to make any Promises to save his Life, or at least to put off the Judgment: And the Prince wrote a very pathetical letter to General *Fairfax*, in his Father's behalf. The Duke of *Richmond*, the Marques of *Lertford*, the Earls of *Lindsey* and *Southampton*, generously offer'd their own Heads to save the King's, and would have undertook to suffer instead for whatever he had done amiss. Almost all the Presbyterian Ministers in the City, and very many out of the Country, and some even of the Independants, declar'd against the Design in their Sermons, in Petitions, Protests, and publik Remonstrances. And the Scots at the same Time sent Commissioners in great Confer-  
ence be-  
tween  
*Cromwell*  
and the  
*Scotch*  
Commiss-  
ioners a-  
many bout him.

THESE Commissioners, as Bishop *Burnet* informs us, came also to *Cromwell* to argue the latter with him. They highly blam'd indeed

1648. many of the King's Actions, and in a heavy languid Style charg'd him with very great Crimes. But still they insisted on that Clause in the Covenant, whereby they solemnly swore they would be faithful in the Preservation of his Majesty Person: Upon which they observ'd, on what Conditions *Scotland*, as well as the Parliament of *England*, had engag'd in the War; and what solemn Declarations of their Zeal and Duty to his Majesty they had all along made; which would now be found, to the Scandal and Reproach of the Christian Name, to have been false Pretences if now the King was in their Hands, they should proceed to Extremities. Hereupon *Cromwell* held a long Discourse with them concerning the Nature of the regal Power; and declar'd 'twas his Opinion, that a Breach of Trust in a King, deserved greater Punishment than any other Crime. And then, as to their Covenant, he said, they swore to preserve the King's Person in Defence of the true Religion; so that if it was manifest that the establishing of the true Religion was hinder'd by the King, so that it could not be effected without removing him, then their Oath could not oblige them to the preserving him any longer. He further said, they were bound by their Covenant to bring all Malignants, Incendiaries, and Enemies to the Cause, to condign Punishment; and was not this to be executed impartially? What were all those on whom public Justice had taken Place, especially those who suffer'd for joining with *Montross*, but small Offenders, who had acted by Commission from the King, who was therefore the Principal, and the most guilty? Thus *Cromwell* had manifested the better of them at their own Weapon, upon their own Principles.

ALL Endeavours being ineffectual, and the Court having finish'd all the necessary Preparations, the King's Trial began on Saturday the 20th of January. The Substance of the Charge against him was, "That he had endeavour'd to set up a tyrannical Power, and to that End had rais'd and maintain'd in the Land a cruel War against the Parliament ; whereby the Country had been miserably wasted, the publick Treasure exhausted, thousands of People had lost their Lives, and innumerable other Mischiefs committed." The Commissioners for trying him being met in *Westminster-Hall* on the fore-aid Day, the Court order'd the Serjeant at Arms to send for their Prisoner from Sir Robert Cotton's House, whither he had been removed ; who accordingly was brought up in the Face of the Court by Colonel Tomlinson, under a strong Guard, and deliver'd to the Serjeant at Arms, who conducted him to the Bar, where a Crimson Velvet Chair was plac'd for him. Having heard his Charge read, he refus'd to plead to it, either guilty or not guilty, till he should know by what awful Authority he was brought thither ; and the Answer given not satisfying him, he persist'd in that Refusal. The same he did on Monday January 22d, when he was a second Time brought before the Court ; as also the next Day, being the third Time. Finally, on Jan. 27th, the King being a fourth Time brought into the Court, desir'd, before Sentence was pass'd against him, to be heard before the Lords and Commons in the *painted Chamber* ; with Design, as 'tis thought, to have resign'd his Crown to his Son, the Prince of Wales : Upon which the Judges order'd for half an Hour to consider of his Request ; and then returning they order'd the King to be brought again to the Bar ; when the President told him, that what he had propos'd was but

1648. but a further Denial of the Jurisdiction of the Court, and tended to the Delay of Justice; and if he had no more to say, they would proceed to Judgment. And the King answering, he had no more to say, Bradshaw made a long Harangue in Vindication of the Parliament's Proceedings, grounding his Discourse mostly on this Principle, *That the People have the supreme Power, and the House of Commons is the People.* This Speech being ended, and the Charge again recited, Sentence was pronounced in these Words;

*He is condemn'd.* *For all which Treasons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, that the said Charles Stuart, as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murderer, and publick Enemy, shall be put to death, by the severing his Head from his Body.*

THO' the King was condemn'd, and there appear'd no Hope of saving his Life, yet still Endeavours were not wanting for that Purpose. Particularly we are told, that Colonel John Cromwell, a near Relation of the great Oliver, came him, in behalf of the States of Holland, whereto was added a Blank, with the King's Signet, and another of the Prince's, both confirm'd by the States, for Cromwell to set down his own Conditions, if he would now save his Majesty's Life. The Colonel went directly to his Kinsman's House, who was so retir'd and shut up in his Chamber, with an Order to let none know he was at home, that 'twas with much Difficultie he obtain'd Admittance, after he had told who he was. Having mutually saluted each other, the Colonel desir'd to speak a few Words with him in private; and began with much Freedom to set before him the Heinousness of the Fact, then about to be committed, and with what Detestation 'twas look'd upon abroad, telling him, *That of all Men living, he could never have imagin'd, he would*

## Oliver Cromwell.

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we had any Hand in it, who, in his Hesitation  
had protested so much for the King. T  
ell answered, It was not ~~out~~ the Army;  
and tho' he did once ~~say some~~ such Words, yet now  
times were altered, and Providence seem'd to order  
things otherwise. And 'tis said, he added, That  
he pray'd and fasted for the King, but no Re-  
turn that Way was yet made to him. Upon this,  
the Colonel step'd a little back, and suddenly  
at the Door, which made Cromwell apprehend  
he was going to be assassinated; but the other  
telling out his Papers, said to him, Cousin, this  
no Time to trifle with Words: See here, it is  
now in your own Power not only to make your self, but  
your Family, Relations and Posterity, happy and ho-  
urable for ever; otherwise, as they have chang-  
their Name before from Williams to Cromwell,  
now they must be forc'd to change it again; for  
this Fact will bring such an Ignominy upon the whole  
generation of them, that no Time will be able to  
face. At this Cromwell paus'd a little, and then  
said, Cousin, I desire you would give me till Night to  
consider of it, and do you go to your Inn, and not  
Bed, till you hear from me. The Colonel did  
cordially, and about one in the Morning a  
messenger came to tell him, He might go to rest,  
and expect no other Answer to carry to the Prince;  
for the Council of Officers had been seeking God,  
Phrase, it seems, very much in Use at that  
time) as he also had done the same, and it was  
solved by them all, that the King must die.

A Committee was appointed by the High-  
Court of Justice to inspect the Parts about White-  
hall for a convenient Place for the King's Exe-  
cution: Having made their Report, it was deter-  
min'd, that a Scaffold should be made near the  
Banqueting-House for that Purpose; and 'twas  
order'd to be covered with Black. The same  
day, Jan. 29th, about threescore of the Com-  
missioners,

1648. missioners sign'd a Warrant for the King's Execution, directing it to Colonel *Hacker*, Colonel *Turke*, Colonel *Phayer*, or either of them Cromwell's Name good the third in this Warrant, *Bradshaw*, and *Lord Grey of Groby* standing before him. The same Day the King Children waited on him to take their Leave of him. An extraordinary Ambassador from the States had his Audience in the House of Commons; whose Errand was to intercede with them for the King's Life, and to maintain good Correspondence between *England* and the United Provinces. The next Day, being the execution of the King. Morning, his Majesty was with a Guard brought from St. James's through the Park to *White Hall*; where having staid about two Hours in private Room, he was led to the Scaffold out of a Window of the Banqueting-House: And having made a Speech, and taken off his *George*, kneeled down at the Block, and the Executioner at one Blow severed his Head from his Body.

His Behaviour and Character. IN all his Sufferings, he shewed a calm and compos'd Firmness, which amaz'd all People and the rather, because 'twas not natural to him. He had many Indignities offered to him, especially during his Trial; but he bore them with a true Greatness of Mind, without Disorder, or any Kind of Affectation. Thus, as Bishop *Burnet* observes, he died greater than he had liv'd, and shew'd that which has been often remarked of the whole Family of the Stuarts, that they bore Misfortunes better than Prosperity. He was a Prince of great Devotion and Piety, remarkable for his Temperance and Chastity, and an utter Enemy to all Kind of Bauchery; and if he had any personal Faults, they were much overweighed by his Virtues.

Happy were it for him, if his Government had been as free from Blame. The Rock on which he split, was an immoderate Desire of Power, beyond what the Constitution allowed. His Reign both in Peace and War, was a continual Series of Errors: He was out of Measure bent on following his Humour; but unreasonably feeble to those whom he trusted, especially the Queen. His Friends regretted the Ascendant she had over him on many Occasions; and others taxed him with the Character of an uxorious Husband. He had certainly a fixed Aversion to Popery; but was much inclin'd to a middle Way between Protestants and Papists; whereby he lost the one without gaining the other. In short, his whole Conduct was such, as verified this Maxim, *That Errors in Government have bin'd more Princes than personal Vices.*

THUS have we got over this dark Scene, in how far our Lieutenant-General is commonly supposed to be chiefly concern'd. But as 'tis not strange we should, if the Story of the King's dealing directly with him be true; so it may reasonably be concluded, that his Son-in-law *Ireton*, rather than he, was the Person who chiefly influenc'd in these Proceedings. I know *Ireton* is supposed all along to have acted by *Cromwell's* directions; but whether he did or no, may, I think, in many Cases be justly questioned. *Ireton* was certainly a zealous Common-wealth's-Man, which Party was always averse to any Treaty with the King; and tho' he with *Cromwell* was in such a Treaty, yet *Ludlow* thinks he never really intended to close with the King; but only to lay his Par-  
asleep, whilst they were contesting with the Pres-  
byterian Interest in Parliament; but he says no  
thing of *Cromwell*, whom he seems all a-  
ng to be angry with, for his Design of making an  
agreement with the King, being himself utterly  
averse

1648. averse to it, and supposing *Cromwell's* main Endeavour was to gratify his own Ambition; which is not unlikely; and yet he might have been in earnest in the Treaty, and also have design'd the publick Good. *Cromwell* was certainly no Common-wealth's Man, tho' he was forc'd to humour, and in many Things actually to comply with the Party; and as the Agitators and their Offspring the Levellers, who were no other than the Commonwealth's-Men in the Army, and whom it is likely *Cromwell* at first might make use of to bring about some of his Designs, were the original Contrivers and chief Actors in the King's Death; whatever Hand *Cromwell* had in it, seems to be chiefly owing to their Fury and desperate Resolutions, which made him apprehensive of the greatest Danger, if he did not comply with their Designs; tho' at the same time, the Contradiction that appear'd in the King's Conduct, might more easily incline him to join Purposes with them. In short, what with the Danger that threaten'd his Person, if he had persisted to oppose the Designs of the Levellers; what with the Enthusiasm, that was so habitual to him; and what with the Consideration of the King's pernicious Misgovernment, which had been the original Cause of all the Evils the Nation had suffer'd; and the Fear of the like happening for the future, if he should be restor'd; he having disavow'd himself to be of a very inconstant and wavering, not to say equivocating Temper; *Cromwell* was at length so wrought upon, as to think necessary, and so lawful, to take off the King, in which towards the last he seem'd to be pre-active, tho' always in some doubt about it. We are expressly told, he at first shew'd some Repentance to so black an Undertaking, as our Author calls it, and seem'd to shew his Abhorrence of it, and not to surmount it, as he said himself;

only because he saw that the Providence of 1648. God and the Necessity of the Times, had inspir'd the Army to make so terrible a Sacrifice ; but that that Sacrifice, after all, was the only one that could save the State and Religion. And we cannot here omit what Bishop Burnet says of this Matter : He tells us, that Ireton was the Person that drove on the King's Trial and Death, and that Cromwell was all the while in some Suspence about it. "Ireton, says he, had the Principles and the Temper of a *Cassius* in him : He struck at nothing that might have turn'd *England* to a Common-wealth ; and he found out Cook and Bradshaw, two bold Lawyers, as proper Instruments for managing it." And we are inform'd by others, that Ireton was the Person, who wrought upon Fairfax, and manag'd the Affair of the Army's Remonstrance, and purging the Parliament, and brought it about. To conclude, tho' we are far from pretending to justify the whole of Cromwell's Conduct in these extraordinary Transactions ; yet we cannot but think, that a greater Load of Guilt and Infamy is usually laid to his Share, than he really deserv'd.





T H E  
L I F E  
O F  
OLIVER CROMWELL

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P A R T II.

*Containing an Account of his Actions and Behaviour, from the Time of the King's Death, to the forcible Dissolution of the Long PARLIAMENT.*

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C H A P. I.

*From the KING's Death to Cromwell's Arrival in Ireland.*



AVING seen the Actions of the wonderful Man, during the Life of King *Charles*, let us now view him under the Common-wealth-Government: But first it may be proper to observe, how this Government was established. The first Thing the Parliament (for so the Re-

ant of the House of Commons now call'd them-selves) did after the King's Death, was to pass ~~the~~<sup>1648.</sup> ~~an~~ <sup>A Com-</sup> Act, ordaining, "That no Person whatsoever <sup>mon-</sup> do presume to proclaim, declare, publish, or <sup>wealth-</sup> any Ways promote *Charles Stuart*, Son of the Govern-<sup>ment set</sup> *Charles*, commonly call'd the Prince of <sup>up.</sup> Wales, or any other Person, to be King or chief Magistrate of *England* or *Ireland*, &c. without the free Consent of the People in Parliament, first had, and signified by a particular A&t or Ordinance for that Purpose; under Pain of being adjudged a Traitor." Then they made another A&t, "That such as had assented to the Vote, *That the King's Concessions were a Ground for the House to proceed to a Settlement*, should not be re-admitted to sit as Members." These therefore were commonly called the Secluded Members.

Soon after, Feb. 5, they voted the House of Peers to be useless and dangerous, and an A&t was accordingly pas'd for abolishing it, tho' Cromwell is said to have appear'd for them. And to move all that stood in the Way of their desired Common-wealth, they resolv'd and declar'd, "That it had been found by Experience, that the Office of a King in this Nation, was unnecessary, burdensom, and dangerous to the Liberty, Safety and publick Interest of the Nation; and therefore it should be utterly abolish'd." Then the Form of Government was declared to be a Common-wealth; and a Council of State was appointed, consisting of about forty Persons, whereof Cromwell was one; whom Power was given, to command and set the Militia of *England* and *Ireland*, to order the Fleet, and let forth such a naval Power, as they should think fit; to appoint Magazines and arsenals for *England* and *Ireland*, and to dispose of men for the Service of both Nations, as they thought

1648. thought proper. And they were to sit and execute these Powers for the Space of one whole Year. And now all Writs formerly running in the King's Name, were to be issued out in the Names of the Keepers of the Liberty of England. And a new Oath, or Engagement, was prepar'd, to be true and faithful to the Government establish'd, without King or House of Peers ; all who refus'd to take it, to be uncapable of holding any Place or Office in Church or State.

Another  
High-  
Court of  
Justice.

THE new Common-wealth being thus settled and secur'd, another High-Court of Justice is now erected for the Trial of Delinquents. Before this Court the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, the Earl of Norwich, the Lord Capel and Sir John Owen, being brought, receiv'd Sentence of Death, for being concern'd in the late Invasion and Insurrections. After Judgment given, they petition'd the Commons ; and so their Reprieve or their Execution was put to the Vote of the House ; and Duke Hamilton, and the Lord Capel were cast, and Sir John Owen sav'd by a considerable Majority ; as the Earl of Holland was cast, and the Earl of Norwich sav'd, by the single Vote of the Speaker, the House being before equally divided as to them ; so that Hamilton, Holland and Capel were soon after beheaded in the Palace-Yard at Westminster. It must be remembred here, that when the Lord Capel's Petition, which his Lady delivered, was read in the House, many spoke in his Favour, and said, That he had never deceive or betray'd them, but had always freely and

Cromwell's solutely declared for the King : And Cromwell's Speech a who knew him very well, spoke so many Things against the to his Honour, and professed so much Respect for him, that all believed he was safe till he concluded, " That his Affection for the " Publick so out-weighed his private Friend "

ship; that he could not but tell them, that 1648.  
 "the Question was now, Whether they would  
 "preserve the most bitter and most implacable E-  
 "nemy they had: That he knew well, that the  
 "Lord Capel would be the last Man in Eng-  
 "land, that would abandon the royal Interest;  
 "that he had great Courage, Industry and  
 Generosity; that he had many Friends who  
 would always adhere to him; and that as  
 long as he liv'd, what Condition soever he  
 was in, he would be a Thorn in their Sides:  
 And therefore, for the Good of the Com-  
 mon-wealth, he should give his Vote against  
 the Petition."

ABOUT this Time, several Things were declared by the Parliament to be High-Treason, and this among the rest, viz. For any Soldiers of the Army to contrive the Death of their General, or Lieutenant-General; or endeavour to raise Mutinies in the Army.

A little before this, *Cromwell* and his Son A private Story of *Ireton* went along with *Whitelock* from the Coun-  
 cil of State, and supp'd at his House. Here *Cromwell* and *Ireton*.  
 They were very cheerful, and seem'd extremely  
*Cromwell* pleas'd; and related many wonderful Ob-  
 servations of God's Providence, in the Course of  
 the War, and in the Affair of the Army's com-  
 ing to London, and seizing the Members of the  
 House. Having thus discours'd together till  
 midnight, they return'd home, and in their Pas-  
 sage their Coach was stopp'd, and they were ex-  
 amined by the Guards. They presently told their  
 names; but the Captain of the Guards would  
 not believe them, and threaten'd to carry these  
 two great Officers to the Court of Guard. Here-  
 on *Ireton* grew a little angry, but *Cromwell*  
 made himself merry with the Soldiers, gave  
 them twenty Shillings, and commended them and  
 their Captain for doing their Duty. And they

1649. afterwards confess'd that they knew *Cromwell* and *Ireton* well enough, and were more strict with them than with others, to let them see they were careful of their Duty ; which they believ'd these great Men came at that Time on purpose to observe.

Council of Agitators to be abolished, which occasions fresh Disturbance in the Army. MATTERS being now brought to some Degree of Settlement, it was thought fit to abolish the Council of Agitators in the Army ; left who had been the chief Authors in all the late Changes, should now take it in their Heads to carry Matters further than the present Ruler car'd they should. But these Agitators had ta'en too much of Power, to be willing to be stripp'd of it ; but at the same Time made wrong Computation of their own Strength by the great Things they had formerly effected not considering that their superior Officers were now wholly united with the Parliament, and entirely concurred with them, in carrying on the same Designs. They presently drew up a Petition to the Lord General *Fairfax* and his Council of Officers, against the Design of abolishing them ; but by a Council of War, the Subscribers to this Petition were sentenced to ride with the Faces towards the Horses Tails before the Heads of their several Regiments, with the Faults written on their Breasts, to have the Swords broken over their Heads, and so to cashier'd the Army. Which Sentence was accordingly executed upon them in the great Palace-Yard at *Westminster*, to the great Exasperation of the Levelling-Party, who were resolv'd so to be suppress'd.

*Cromwell* again suppresses the Levellers. FOR not long after, there being a Review at *Ware*, several Regiments, among whom was *Cromwell's* of Horse, in Pursuance of the forementioned Petition, and to be distinguisht from the

from others, wore White in their Hats, as they had done once before. *Cromwell* having Notice of the Design, order'd two Regiments of Horse from distant Quarters, who knew nothing of his Combination, to appear there likewise. Being all drawn up, *Cromwell* with an angry and down Look rides round, and on a sudden commands one of those two Regiments to encompass a Regiment of Foot; which being done accordingly; he call'd four Men by their Names out of the Body, and with his own Hands committed them to the Marshal; and immediately calling a Council of War, (whilst the rest of their Confederates slunk their white Colours into their Pockets, and trembled at this Boldness of *Cromwell*) try'd and condemn'd them. But they had the Favour from the Court of casting lots for their Lives, two only to die; and the two whose Lot it was to die, were presently shot to Death upon a green Bank by the other two in Sight of the Army. A little before, another Leveller, one *Lockyer*, a trooper, for promoting the Engagement and agreement, was shot to Death in St. Paul's church-Yard.

NOTWITHSTANDING these Executions, this humour still continu'd in the Army, and began to break out with greater Violence, upon the Parliament's voting, that eleven Regiments, Lot, should be sent over into *Ireland*. This drag'd them to that Degree, that, finding that instead of reaping the Advantages they had prov'd themselves, they were to be expos'd to Hazards, and the Miseries of a starving War, they peremptorily declar'd against it, as Contrivance to divide them, and gave out, that they would not go for *Ireland*, till the properties of the People, for which they first engag'd in War, were secur'd; requiring, That

1649. the often promised *Representative* of the Nation might be chosen. And finding that Discourses and Representations were to no Purpose, they began to have Recourse to Arms. Accordingly Colonel Scroop's Regiment, having laid aside their Officers, march'd with twelve Troops from their Quarters at *Salisbury*, towards *Burford* in *Oxfordshire*, in order to a Conjunction with those of *Harrison*, *Ireton*, and *Skippon*, and a Party under one *Thompson* then lying near *Banbury*. This they had effected, if the extraordinary Diligence of *Cromwell* and *Fairfax* had not prevented them: For posting forty Miles in one Day they overtook them at *Abingdon*, and first offer'd them a Treaty, wherein Satisfaction might be mutually given; and till that were done, the neither Party might come within ten Miles of each other. Upon which Agreement, the *Loyalists*, who had increas'd their Numbers to about five thousand, march'd to *Burford*; where while they were securely resting themselves, and their Horses put into the adjoining Meadow about twelve a Clock at Night Colonel *Reynolds* fell into their Quarters, routed them, and took four hundred of them Prisoners, and nine hundred of their Horses. *Thompson* took Shelter in a Wood near *Milton*, where he fought manfully till he was slain. Of the Prisoners three only were executed, who dy'd very reluctantly. Cornet *Den* expressing his Grief and Sorrow, was reprieved at the Instant of Execution which his Companions beholding from the Lead of the Church, were saluted with a Message of Decimation: But at *Cromwell's* Desire they were all pardon'd, and sent home to their own Houses. Thus was this Insurrection quell'd the fifteenth Day of *May*.

AFT

AFTER this, the Lord-General Fairfax, and Lieutenant-General Cromwell visited Oxford, where they were nobly treated, and made Doctors of the Civil Law; at which Time also, Sir Hardress Waller, and Mr. Rushworth with eight Colonels, were created Masters of Arts. Then they visited Portsmouth, from whence they return'd to London in Triumph, and receiv'd new Marks of Honour from the Parliament. And now to promote a lasting Union between the three Principles of Power, the Parliament, the Army, and the City, it was contriv'd, that the Speaker with the House, the General with the chief Officers, and the Council of State, should, after hearing two Sermons, be magnificently feasted at Grocers-Hall, by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council. This was accordingly done, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of June; the Lord-Mayor, as 'twas usual towards Kings, meeting Lenthal the Speaker, with the rest of the Members, at Temple-Bar, and there resigning the Sword to him; which having again receiv'd, he carry'd before him into the City. At this Entertainment, there was presented by the City to the Lord-General a large and weighty Basin and Ewer of beaten Gold; and to Lieutenant-General Cromwell three hundred Pounds in Plate, and two hundred Pieces in Gold.

CROMWELL was now just entering upon a new Scene of Action, and making Preparations for the reducing of Ireland to the Power of the new Common-wealth: But before we describe his memorable Exploits in that Kingdom, twill be proper to take a short View of the Posture of Affairs there for some Time past, and the Condition they were now in.

THE Irish Rebellion, the most barbarous and bloody that was ever executed in any Part of

1649. the World, in which so many thousand Protestants were most inhumanly massacred, broke out in October 1641, which tho' it had been contriv'd with such Secrecy, and acted with such Outrage, yet the City of *Dublin* was wonderfully preserv'd by divine Providence, to be an Asylum for such as escap'd thither, to avoid the Fury of their bloody Persecutors. Many of the poor Protestants came over also into *England*, hoping there to find Shelter from the mercileſs Enemy: But this prov'd little Comfort to those distressed Souls; for here they found, to the Increase of their Grief, that *England* was preparing on all Sides to act the same upon one another, which the Papists had done against them in *Ireland*. But tho' the Difference between the King and Parliament increas'd every Day; yet 'twas so order'd, that some Regiments were sent over into *Ireland*, to stop the Proceedings of the Rebels.

After the War had been carry'd on for ſome Time in *England*, the King finding his Affairs in a declining Condition, and that the Parliament gain'd Ground upon him, he in 1643, order'd the Marquis of *Ormonde* to make a Truce with the *Irish*, that he might have the Affiſtance of thoſe *English* Forces that were in *Ireland*, in his War with the Parliament. A Ceffation of Arms was accordingly agreed upon; but the *Irish* infamously broke the Articles of it: For the *English* being now gone over to *England*, they on a ſudden rose againſt the Marquis, and had surpriz'd him, if he had not been inform'd before of their Design, and escap'd into *Dublin*: And being in no Condition to defend it, but oblig'd to deliver it up either to the *English* ſent by the Parliament, or to the *Irish*, he gave it up to the *English* (who made Colonel *Jones* Governor) and came over

to the King, at what Time he was carry'd from Place to Place by the Army.

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THE Marquis had not been long gone, but the treacherous *Irish* being terrify'd with the News, that the Parliament was sending over an Army thither, requested the Prince, to whom the Marquis had repair'd, to send him back, engaging themselves to submit absolutely to his Majesty's Authority, and to obey the Marquis as his Lieutenant, and join with him to expel the Parliament's Forces. The Marquis being accordingly arriv'd, enter'd into most dishonourable Articles with the *Irish*, who having made a Confederacy among themselves, soon became more formidable by the Acceſſion of the Lord *Inchequin*, President of *Munſter*, and the *Scots* in the Province of *Ulſter*. Before the Arrival of the Marquis, the Pope's Nuncio, who had been sent over to promote the grand rebellion, and had of late behav'd himself so tyrannically, that he became intolerable even to the *Irish* themselves, was expell'd the Kingdom: And now the Royalists and *Irish* being united, *Ireland* seem'd in a fair Way of being entirely reduc'd to the King's Obedience. But even *Roe Oneal*, the best Commander among the *Irish*, not liking the Articles of the Confederacy, refus'd to be included in it, and joining with the Parliament's Forces reliev'd *London-derry*, then besieg'd by the Lord *Ardes*. Or and however and the Confederates having a numerous Army, the whole Kingdom was almost reduc'd by them, excepting *London-derry*, govern'd by Sir *Charles Coot*, and *Dublin* the chief City, wherein was Colonel *Jones* with no very considerable Force, besides that his Men were frequently deserting their Colours. The enemy with their formidable Army was now marching to besiege it, and sent many threatening

1649. ning Summons, requiring a speedy surrend're of the Place; which notwithstanding, thro' the Vigilance of the Governour, held out to the Confusion of the Besiegers. But his present Difficulties, and the great Danger he was in, made him renew his Instances to the Parliament, in the most pressing Manner, for speedy Supplies of Men and Provisions; declaring, that else all would be lost. Hereupon the Parliament, no insensible of his Condition, began to provide for the Relief of *Ireland* with all possible Expedition: And appointed Commissary-General *Aretton*, Colonel *Scoop*, Colonel *Horton*, Major-General *Lambert*, with their four Regiments of Horse; Colonel *Ewer*, Colonel *Cook*, Colonel *Hewson*, and Colonel *Dean*, with theirs of Foot and five Troops of Dragoons, all old Soldiers of the English Army, for the said Service: And besides these, other Regiments were rais'd by beat of Drum, to make up a sufficient Force for effectually carrying on so great a Work.

*Cromwell accepts of the Irish Service.* THE Forces being in a great Degree of Readiness, the Parliament began now to think of General for this Expedition; and having had sufficient Experience of Cromwell's great Abilities and knowing no Man so fit for the Employment, they desir'd him to accept of it; who not without some seeming Reluctancy at last undertook it, and after many humble Expressions of his own Unworthiness and Disability to support so great a Charge, and of the entire Resignation of himself to their Commands, and absolute Dependance upon God's Providence, he acquainted them, That he submitted to their good Will and Pleasure, and desired them to hasten all the necessary Preparations; "For he confess'd "that Kingdom to be reduc'd to so great "Streights, that he was willing to engage his "own Person, purely for the Difficulties whic

" appear'd in the Expedition; and more out of 1649.  
 " Hope to give some Obstruction to the, pre-  
 " sent Successes of the Rebels, and to preserve  
 " to the Common-wealth some Footing in that  
 " Kingdom, than from any Expectation that  
 " he should be able, with his Strength, in any  
 " signal Degree to prevail over them."

THE House was so well pleas'd with this Answer, that immediately after, on the 22d made of June, he had a pompous Commission given him in Latin and English, to command all Forces to be sent into Ireland, and to be Lord Governor both as to civil and military Affairs in that Kingdom, for three Years: And Colonel Jones was made Lieutenant-General of the Horse. From the very Minute of his receiving this Charge, Cromwell us'd an incredible Expedition in the raising of Money, providing of Shipping, and drawing the Forces together for this Enterprize. The Soldiers march'd with great Speed to the Rendezvous at Milford-Haven, there to expect the new Lord Deputy.

HAVING dispatch'd his Busines with the Parliament, on the 10th of July he left London, setting forward in great State, being drawn in a Coach with six Horses, and attended by many Members of the Parliament and Council of State, with the chief Officers of the Army; his Life-Guard consisting of eighty Men, who had formerly been Commanders, bravely mounted and accouter'd, both themselves and Servants. Thus he was conducted to Brentford, where those Gentlemen who accompany'd him, took their Leaves, wishing a Prosperous Issue to this Undertaking; whom he answer'd again with great Civility and Respect. From hence he poited directly for Bristol, to take Order for

1649. for the Train of Artillery, and many other Mat-  
ters necessary for the hastening his Men on  
Shipboard.

**H**e sends Succours before him. **F**ROM *Bristol* he takes his Way into *Wales*, having sent over three Regiments before, viz. Colonel *Reynold's* of Horse, Colonel *Venable's* and Colonel *Monk's* of Foot. These were ship-ped from *Chester*, and the Ports thereabout; and being favour'd with a prosperous Gale, quickly arrived at the Port of *Dublin*, where they were welcom'd with unspeakable Joy and Gladness. The Citizens spared for nothing that might be any Relief to the Sea-fick Soldiers, hoping that the Recovery of their Health might be a Means of enlarging their Liberties, who now were almost wholly confin'd within the narrow Compas of their City Walls. And they were not at all dis-appointed of their Expectation: For *Jones* having his Courage much heighten'd by the coming over of these Supplies, now car'd not for the Enemy's Bravadoes, but resolv'd to remove them farther off; which he in a very little Time effected.

**B**y which means O-  
*monk's*  
**A**rmy is  
totally  
routed. **F**OR on the 2d of *August*, he discovered a Party of the Enemy, about fifteen hundred Foot besides Horse, drawn down to their new Work at *Baggot-rath*, a Place about a Quarter of a Mile Eastward of the City upon the Sea. Hence they design'd to run their Trenches towards the City-works, thereby to secure those Forts which were begin to be rais'd towards the Water, that they might hinder the landing of the Forces and Supplies expected from *England*. But *Jones* and *Reynolds* with the rest of the Commanders in the City, observing the Enemy's Design, judged it necessary to interrupt them: And so presently drawing out twelve hundred Horse, and four thousand Foot, they soon enter'd the Enemy's new Works, and fell upon them with so much Fo-

ry, that they routed the Horse at the first Charge; and soon after cut in Pieces the greatest Part of their Foot, and took most of the rest Prisoners. The Report of this Disaster soon reach'd the General Ormond's Ears, who was then playing at Tables in his Tent; and understanding also, that Jones was making towards his main Army, *he wished the Rebels would come that he might have some Sport with them*, and so went on with his Game: But he was soon forc'd to leave it; for Jones with his Men following the Chase to Rathmims, where Ormond's Camp was, engag'd his whole Army, and after two Hours Fight, totally routed them with a very great Slaughter. Four thousand were reckoned to be kill'd on the Place and in the Chase, and above two thousand five hundred taken Prisoners, of whom several were Men of Quality, and amongst the rest Ormond's own Brother, himself very narrowly escaping. They left all their great Guns, Ammunition, and Provisions, behind them; and withal a rich Camp to reward the valiant Soldiers; who with the Spoil of it so trick'd themselves up, that when they return'd to Dublin, many of the Officers did not know their own Men, they were grown so fine. This great Victory was obtain'd with the Loss of few, not above twenty of the Parliament's Party being missing after the Fight was over. The Success was the more remarkable, because unexpected on both sides, Jones with his handful of Men being led in Step by Step to a compleat Victory, whereas their utmost Design at the Beginning of the Action, was only to beat the Enemy from Baggottab. Ormond's Party were so surpriz'd, that they had not Time to carry off their Money, which lay at Rathfarnham, for the paying of their Army, where Jones seized four thousand pounds very seasonably for the Payment of his Men.

1649. Men. The Marquis upon this Defeat fled to *Kilkenny* with a considerable Number: Others betook themselves to *Drogheda*, or *Tredagh*, whither he soon came himself with three hundred Horse, and in very good Time; for Lieutenant-General *Jones* hoping the Town might be so terrified with this Overthrow as to surrender, hasten'd thither with some Horse to summon it; but having notice of *Ormond's* coming, he march'd back to *Dublin*.

*Cromwell* embarks for *Ireland*.

THE Lord Governour *Cromwell* being at *Milford-Haven*, receiv'd the full Account of *Ormond's* Defeat, when he rather expected to hear of the Loss of *Dublin*, and was in great Perplexity what to do. But the Clouds being dispers'd upon the News of the great Success his Party had that he sent before, he defer'd not to embark his whole Army. On the thirteenth of *August*, he set sail from *Milford-haven* with thirty two Ships, wherein was the Van of his Army, *Ireton* soon following him with the main Body in forty two other Vessels, and *Hugh Peters* with twenty Sail bringing up the Rear. With a very prosperous Wind they soon arrived at *Dublin*, where they were receiv'd with all possible Demonstrations of Joy, the great Guns echoing forth their welcome, and the Acclamations of the People resounding in every Street. *Cromwell* being come into the City, where the Concourse of the People was very great, (they all flocking to see him, whom before they had heard so much of) at a convenient Place he made a Stand, and with his Hat in his Hand made a Speech to them, telling them, " That as God had brought " him thither in Safety, so he doubted not but " by his divine Providence to restore them all " to their just Liberties and Properties; and " that all those, whose Hearts Affections were " real for the carrying on of the great Work again

" the

the barbarous and Blood-thirsty *Irish*, and all their Adherents and Confederates, for the propagating of the Gospel of Christ, the establishing of Truth and Peace, and restoring that bleeding Nation to its former Happiness and Tranquillity, should find Favour and Protection from the Parliament of *England*, and from himself, and withal receive such Rewards and Gratuities, as should be answerable to their Merits." This Speech was entertain'd with great Applause by the People, who all cry'd out "that they would live and die with him.



## C H A P. II.

### *His Actions in Ireland, and Return from thence.*

THE Army having refresh'd themselves, and the Lord-Lieutenant having settled both the military and civil Affairs of *Dublin*, he drew his Forces out of the City to a general Muster, where appeared a compleat Body of fifteen thousand Horse and Foot; out of which were drawn twelve Regiments, containing in all about ten thousand stout resolute Men, for the present Service. With this Army, furnish'd with all Things necessary, he advanced towards *Tredagh*, a Town well fortified, with a Garrison in it of two thousand five hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse, the Flower of the royal Army, under the Command of Sir *Arthur Aston*, a brave experienc'd Soldier. The Marquis of *Ormond* had foreseen, at this Place, by Reason of its Neighbourhood and Situation, would be first attempted, it being likely that the Enemy would leave so considerable a Fortress behind them: And he was

1649. was in Hopes he should have Time to recruit his shatter'd Army, and repair the Losses of the late Defeat, while *Cromwell* should be wasting his Forces against a Town they believed could hold out a Month, and before that Time be relieved: But the Event shew'd how much he was mistaken.

*He storms Tredagh.* *CROMWELL* was no sooner come before *Tredagh*, but observing the Rules of War, he summon'd the Governour to surrender; which Summons was slighted, and look'd upon rather as a Matter of Formality, than that he did believe to have the Town upon it. Hereupon the Lord-Governour order'd all Things for a quick Dispatch of the Siege. *Ayscough's* Ships block'd them up by Sea; and on the Land, the white Flag was taken down, and the red Ensign display'd before the Town. The Besieged were not much dismay'd at this, as expecting Succour from the Marquis of *Ormond*: And they seem'd to be unanimous in this Resolution, rather than deliver up the Town, to expire with it; as they did not long after.

FOR *Cromwell* being sensible of the Mischief of a long Siege, like an impatient Conquerour would not spend Time in the common Form of Approaches and Turnings; but immediately planted a strong Battery, which soon levelled the Steeple of a Church on the *South* Side of the Town, and a Tower that stood near it. The next Day, the Battery continuing, the Corner Tower between the *East* and *South* Walls was demolish'd, and two Breaches made, which some Regiments of Foot immediately entered; but they were not made low enough for the Horse to go in with them. Here the utmost Bravery was shewn on both Sides, the Breaches being not more courageously assaulted than valiantly defended. The Enemy within so furiously charg'd

those who first enter'd, that they drove them back again faster than they came in. *Cromwell*, who was all this while standing at the Battery, observing this, drew out a fresh Reserve of Colonel *E-* His Bra-  
*uer's Foot*, and in Person bravely enter'd with very and  
them once more into the Town. This Example in that  
of their General inspired the Soldiers with such Action.  
fresh Courage, that none were able to stand before them; and having now gain'd the Town, they made a terrible Slaughter, putting all they met with to the Sword; *Cromwell* having expres-  
sly commanded not to spare any one that should be found in Arms; the Design of which was to discourage other Places from making Opposition, to which Purpose the Lord-Governour wrote to the Parliament, *That he believ'd this verity would save much Effusion of Blood.* As *i's Men did not fall unrevenged; for they fought bravely, and desperately disputed every Corner of the Streets, making the Conquerors win what they had by Inches. The Streets at last proving too hot, they fled to the Churches and Steeples, and other Places of Shelter. About an hundred were got into St. Peter's-Church Steeple, resolv'd there to sell their Lives at as dear a Rate as possible; but they were quickly all blown up with Gun-Powder, only one Man escaping, who 'd from the Tower. The Wind befriending him, he receiv'd no further Hurt by the Fall than breaking his Leg; which *Cromwell's Men* seeing, took him up, and gave him Quarter. In other Places, when they refus'd to yield upon Summons, strong Guards were immediately put upon them to starve them out; which soon had that Effect as to make them surrender themselves to the Mercy of the Conquerors, which was indeed but small; for all the Officers were pretty knock'd on the Head, and every tenth of the Soldiers kill'd, and the rest thrust on*

1649. Shipboard for Barbadoes. The Governour, Sir ~~Arthur Ashton~~, here likewise met his Fate, being put to the Sword among the rest. And thus was this strong Place taken and sack'd in less than a Week's Time, which the rebellious Irish were three whole Years in taking. This great Action was so surprizing, that O'Neal at the hearing of it, swore a great Oath *That if Cromwell had taken Tredagh by Storm if he should storm Hell, he wou'd take it.*

Many other Places submit to him. THE dismal Destruction of Tredagh render'd Cromwell's Name formidable to all other Places round about. Few of them had so much Resolution as to expect a Summons to surrender; and particularly the Garrisons of Trim and Dundalk, fearing the like Usage, abandon'd them to the Conqueror. In this last Place their Hazard was so great, that they left their great Guns behind them on the Platforms. Cromwell did not at that Time carry on his Conquests any further Northward, but return'd to Dublin, and march'd with his Army towards Wexford, the Part lying convenient for subsisting his Army in the Southern Counties. In his March, a Place call'd Killinckerick, about fourteen Miles from Dublin, being deserted by the Enemy, he sent a Party of his Men into it. Arckloe-Castle was likewise abandon'd, and many other Places submitted to him.

He storms Wexford. ON the 1st of October, Cromwell with his Army came before Wexford, and sent a Summons to the Governour, Colonel David Symonds, requiring a speedy Rendition. His Answer was somewhat dubious, which occasion'd many Persons to pass betwixt him and the Lord-General Cromwell. The Governour did this on purpose to protract Time, until the Earl of Castlehaven had thrown a Party of five hundred Men into the Town to reinforce the Garrison; having

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having now receiv'd these Recruits, he resolv'd to defend the Place as long as he could, and seem'd to defy all Attempts that might be made against him. Upon this *Cromwell* applies himself in good earnest to the Work, and bends his greatest Force against the Castle, knowing that upon the gaining of that, the Town must soon follow. He caus'd a Battery to be erected against it, whereby a small Breach being made, Commissioners were sent from the Enemy to treat about a Surrender. In the mean time the Guns continu'd firing, no Cessation having been agreed upon; whereby the Breach in the Castle being made wider, the Guard that was appointed to defend it, quitted their Post; and thereupon some of *Cromwell's* Men enter'd the Castle, and set up their Colours at the Top of it. The Enemy observing this, sett their Stations in all Parts, so that the others getting over the Walls, possess'd themselves of the Town without any great Opposition, and set open the Gates for the Horse to enter, tho' they could do but little Service, all the Streets being barr'd with Cables. The Town being thus enter'd, none were suffer'd to be that were found in Arms; and so they made their Way thro' the Streets, till they came to the Market-place, where the Enemy fought desperately for some Time; but were at last beaten, and all who were found in Arms put to the Sword. *Ludlow* says, that the Foot iss'd the Enemy so close, that crowding to scape over the Water, they so overloaded the boats, that many of them were drowned. Great Losses were taken in this Town, it being esteem'd by the Enemy a Place of Strength; and the Ships were seiz'd in the Harbour, which much interrupted the Commerce of that Port. The Lord-Lieutenant *Cromwell* appoint-

1649. ed Commissioners to take Care of the Goods  
 that were found in the Town belonging to the  
 Enemy, that they might be improv'd to the  
 best Advantage for the Publick. The Reduc-  
 tion of this Place was of very considerable Ad-  
 vantage to the Conquerors, being a Port-Town  
 and very convenient for receiving Supplies from  
*England*. And the Severity that was exercis'd  
 here, had the same Effect with that us'd be-  
 fore at *Droghedah*: The Terror spreading into  
 all Towns and Forts along the Coast as far  
 as *Dublin*, spar'd the General the Trouble of  
 summoning them.

THE Winter now coming on, and it being  
 a very wet Season, *Cromwell's* Troops suffer-  
 much from the Weather, and the Flux then ran-  
 ing amongst them. Many thought these Rea-  
 sons should have oblig'd him for the present  
 put a Stop to his Conquests; but he was of a  
 other Mind, and more in the right than they.  
 The Difficulties the Marquis of *Ormond* met  
 with in bringing a new Army into the Field  
 after his late Defeat, the antient Disagree-  
 ment again breaking out between the *Popish* Confe-  
 rates and him, on Account of that Disaster,  
 secret Intelligence held by *Cromwell* in the Pro-  
 vince of *Munster*, and the mighty Affairs that  
 call'd him back over the Sea, seem'd to be  
 more powerful Motives for continuing the War  
 than the Winter was to interrupt his Progress.

*He reduc-*  
*ees Ross.* BEING thus resolv'd, he marches with  
 his Army towards *Ross*, a strong Town upon  
*Barrow*. The Lord *Taffe* was Governor of  
 this Place, who had a strong Garrison  
 under him; and the better to secure it, *Ormond*,  
*Stle-Haven*, and the Lord *Ardes*, in their  
 Persons, caus'd fifteen hundred Men more to  
 boated over to reinforce it; *Cromwell's* Ad-  
 viders it.

ll the while looking on, without being able to 1649.  
 hinder them. However, the Lord-Governour  
 so sooner came before the Town, but he sent  
 the Governour a Summons to this Effect, " That  
 since his Coming into *Ireland*, he ever en-  
 deavour'd to avoid the Effusion of Blood,  
 having been before no Place, where he did  
 not first send them such Terms, as might be  
 for their Preservation; and to continue the  
 like Course, he now summons them to deliver  
 up the Town to the Parliament of *England*."   
 No Answer was at present return'd to this Sum-  
 mons, till the great Guns began to play; when  
 the Governour being apprehensive of the same  
 message that other Garrisons had before met with,  
 as willing to treat; which being allow'd, they  
 came to this Agreement, " That the Town be  
 deliver'd up to the Lord-General *Cromwell*,  
 and they within march away with Bag and  
 Baggage to *Kilkenny*: " Which fifteen hun-  
 dred of them accordingly did; but six hundred  
 of them being *English* revolted to *Cromwell*.  
 In the mean Time *Kingsale*, *Cork*, *Youghall*,  
*London-Bridge*, and other Garrisons, voluntarily  
 declar'd for the Conqueror; which Garrisons  
 prov'd of great Use to the Reducement of *Mun-*  
*ster*, and consequently of all *Ireland*. Sir *Charles*  
*Mount* and Colonel *Venables* were very successful  
 in the North; and the Lord *Broghill* and  
 Colonel *Hewson* did good Service in other  
 places.

*CROMWELL* having made himself Master Besieges  
*Ross*, caus'd a Bridge of Boats to be laid <sup>Duncan-</sup>  
 over the *Barrow*, and his Army to sit down <sub>non, and</sub>  
 before *Duncannon*, a strong Fort commanded <sub>retreats</sub>  
 from Colonel *Wogan*: But this Place was so well thence.  
 prov'd with all Things necessary, that it was  
 ag'd it would be Time lost to tarry long be-  
 fore it. And so the Army quickly rose, and  
 march'd

1649. march'd away into the County of *Kilkenny*; where the Marquis of *Ormond*, being join'd by *Inchequin*, seem'd resolv'd to give *Cromwell* Battle. His Army was strong both in Horse and Foot, far surpassing *Cromwell's*, which was much weaken'd by continual Duty, difficult Marches, the Flux and other Diseases. Notwithstanding which, the Marquis upon the Approach of his Enemy, drew off, without making any Attempt, or striking one Stroke. Upon which, *Enistegoe*, a little walled Town about five Miles from *Ross*, was reduce by Colonel *Abbot*; and Colonel *Reynolds* with twelve Troops of Horse, and three of Dragoons march'd up to *Carrick*; where having divided his Men into two Parts, whilst he amus'd them with one Party, he enter'd a Gate with the other taking about a hundred Prisoners without the loss of a Man.

THE News hereof being brought to the Lord Governor *Cromwell*, then at *Ross*, where he had continu'd for some Time indispos'd, he immediately march'd away with his Army to besiege *Waterford*, in hopes of gaining that important Place before his Forces should draw into Winter-Quarters. Being come before it, he presently detach'd a Regiment of Horse, and three Troops of Dragoons to reduce *Passage-For* which Party met with the desir'd Success, the Fort and Castle, with five great Guns, and much Ammunition, being soon deliver'd up to the

His Army But the Siege of *Waterford* was not so successful marches carried on: For *Cromwell* perceiving, that the City resolv'd to stand upon their own Defence and it being now *December*, and the Weather very wet, he thought it most adviseable to draw off his Army into Winter-Quarters; where they might be refresh'd against the Spring, for the better finishing of the Work they had so prosperously begun.

IN the mean Time, a Party of the Enemy from Waterford, and another from Duncannon, joining together, besieг'd Passage-Fort; but being set upon by Colonel Zankey, they were totally routed, great many of them being kill'd, and three hundred and fifty taken Prisoners. Several other Skirmishes were maintain'd with the like success; but the Loss of Lieutenant-General Jones, who died about this Time at Wexford, of a violent Fever, struck a Damp upon all. He was a Man every way bold and daring, of wonderful Courage and Resolution, and yet he govern'd his Valour with Prudence, being not rash, but advised in all his Attempts: The Army had a great Loss of him, and his Death was soon follow'd by that of Colonel Wolf, and Scout-Master-General Roe. Many of the common Soldiers had likewise their Share in this Mortality, but their Numbers were recruited by continual Supplies sent from England by the Parliament. And Many now also the Irish, as well as the British Soldiers, under the Marquis of Ormond, being allur'd by the Successes, and wrought upon by the In-  
itations of the Commonwealth, as also deterr'd by the Plague that rag'd amongst them, together with the want of Pay and Necessaries, ran by whole Troops to Cromwell's Camp; who made very great Use of the Irish Animosities, and of the Jealousies between them and Ormond. He said to ask some of the Marquis's Friends, whom he had taken Prisoners, What the Marquis Ormond had to do with Charles Stuart, and what Obligations he had receiv'd from him; and then would speak of the hard Usage his grandfather had met with from King James, and the long Imprisonment he had sustain'd by him, for not submitting to an extrajudicial Determination: And said, He was confident, if the Marquis and he could meet and confer together, they

1649. they should part very good Friends. And many  
 who heard these Discourses, by his Permission,  
 gave the Marquis Information of all he had  
 said.

**H**e visits the sever-  
 al Garri-  
 sons.

WHILST the Army continu'd in their Win-  
 ter-Quarters, the vigilant and active Cromwell  
 would not sit still; but visited all the Garrisons  
 that were in his Possession in Munster, and or-  
 der'd all Affairs both military and civil. When  
 he came to Kingsale, the Mayor of the Town  
 (as was usual in other Places) deliver'd to him  
 the Mace and Keys; which he return'd not to  
 him again, but gave them to Colonel Stubben  
 the Governour. This was the more taken notice  
 of, because it had not been us'd by the Lord  
 Lieutenant; but the Reason of this Proceeding  
 was, because the Mayor was an Irish-Man, and  
 also a Papist, and so 'twas not judg'd proper to  
 entrust such a one with the Government of so im-  
 portant a Place.

ABOUT this Time, the Parliament being ap-  
 prehensive of the Designs that were carrying on  
 against them in Scotland in Favour of the King  
 and thinking they might have Occasion to make  
 Use of Cromwell, for preventing the Mischiefs  
 that threatned them from thence, resolv'd that  
 he should be sent for over into England, order-  
 ing the Speaker to write a Letter to him for  
 that Purpose: But it being towards the latter  
 End of March before he receiv'd this Letter  
 and it being not his Temper to lie long idle  
 when he knew he had much to do, he proceeds  
 in his Work of reducing Ireland, and was very suc-

**H**e takes the Field again.

cessful in it. The Month of January was hardly  
 expir'd, when the Army took the Field again  
 two Bodies, which he divided on purpose to distract  
 the Marquis of Ormond. Himself took one Par-  
 ty, and another was led by Ireton, who march'd  
 away to Carrick, in order to reinforce him.

by the Conjunction of Colonel *Reynolds*. These 1649.  
 were to march into the Enemy's Quarters two *several* Ways, and to meet together at a Ren-  
 dezvous near *Kilkenny*. In order to this Design,  
*Cromwell* with his Party march'd away over the  
*Blackwater*, towards the Counties of *Limerick*  
 and *Tipperary*. The first Place reduc'd by him, *Several*  
 was a Castle call'd *Kilkenny*, upon the *Borders* *Places de-*  
 of the County of *Limerick*. After that he took *liver'd up*  
*Cloghern-House*, belonging to Sir *Richard E-*  
*verard*, one of the Supreme Council of the *Irish*.  
 From thence he march'd to *Roghill-Castle*, which  
 upon Summons was deliver'd up to him. Here  
 with much Difficulty he pass'd the River *Shewr*,  
 and without delay march'd away to *Feathard*, a  
 Garrison-Town where one *Butler* was Govern-  
 our. Being got into the Suburbs about ten at  
 night, he sent a Trumpet with a Summons to  
 the Town; but they shot at the Trumpet, and  
 being inform'd, that the Lord-Lieutenant was  
 with the Party, they said, *That it was not a fit*  
*time to send a Summons in the Night*. Upon this *Feathard*  
 Resolution being taken to storm, the Govern-*furren-*  
 our thought fit to send two Commissioners to *der'd to*  
 treat with the Lord-Lieutenant; and after one *him upon*  
 night spent in the Treaty, the Town was sur-  
 render'd the next Morning upon Articles; which  
*Cromwell* the more readily granted them, be-  
 cause he had but few Foot, and no great Guns  
 or Ladders; and seventeen Companies of the  
*Foot* were within five Miles of the  
 town. The Enemy quitted it in some Dis-  
 order, after which the Magistrates sent a Peti-  
 tion to the Lord-Lieutenant, desiring his Pro-  
 fession.

THE Forces having a little refresh'd them- He storms  
 selves at *Feathard*, the General march'd with and takes  
 them from thence to *Calan*, garrison'd by the *Calan*.  
 enemy. Here he was join'd by *Ireton*, *Reynolds*,  
 and

1649. and Zankey, making up in all a considerable Body. The chief Strength of *Calan* consisted in three Castles that were in the Town: And these the Soldiers storm'd one after another, and carry'd them all. Thus the Place held out but one Day, and paid dear for that short Resistance, all who were in Arms being put to the Sword, except *Butler's* Troops, which surrender'd before the Cannon was fir'd. This so terrify'd some who defended a House about a Musquet-shot from the Town, that they presently sent to desire Liberty to remove to *Kilkenny*; which the Lord-General readily granted. The Soldiers having sufficiently furnish'd themselves with the Provisions they found in the Town, march'd back again to *Feathard*; by the Way, taking the two Castles of *Cnattofer*, and *Bullynard*: After which soon follow'd *Kiltenny*, *Arfennon*, *Cober*, and *Dundrum*, very considerable Places.

THE Lord-Governour *Cromwell* had now entirely subdu'd all Places of Importance, except *Limerick*, *Waterford*, *Clonmel*, *Galloway*, and *Kilkenny*. These were Places of great Strength, and would take up much Time; however, he resolve'd to attempt the last: But fearing the Forces he had, might not be sufficient to carry on his Design, he sent Orders to Colonel *Hewson*, the new Governour of *Dublin*, to bring him all the Forces he could draw out of the Garrisons of *Wexford*, and the other Posts he had taken that Side. Accordingly *Hewson*, after having taken *Laughlin-Bridge*, join'd the Lord-Governour's Army near *Gowram*, a populous Town defended by a strong Castle, whereof one *Ormond* a *Kentish-Man* was Governour. Being summon'd to deliver it up, he return'd a very resolute Answer, having great Confidence in the Valour of his Men, who were *Ormond's* Recruits.

Regiment. Upon this, the great Guns began to play, and did such furious Execution, that he soon thought it Time for him to beat a Parley: But it was now too late; for he could obtain no other Conditions than these, " That the common Soldiers should have their Lives, and the Officers be dispos'd of as should be thought fit." The Place being thus deliver'd up, to which *Hammond* was enforc'd by the Sedition of the Soldiers, he and all the Commission-Officers but one, were the next Day shot to Death; and the Priest, who was Chaplain to the Popish Soldiers in the Regiment, hanged.

AFTER this, the Lord-Governour proceeds in Besieges is Design of besieging the City of *Kilkenny*. and takes The Garrison there requir'd a more than ordinary Strength to reduce it, as having been again and again reinforc'd by those who had surrend'ed upon Articles the small Towns and Castles in that County. But *Cromwell*, not at all dispirag'd at this, on the 22d of March, sent first of all a small Party of Horse before to make discovery, and shortly after came up with his whole Force. Being advanc'd within a Mile of the City, he made a Stand, and sent a Summons

1650.

Sir *Walter Butler* the Governour, and the Corporation, to deliver up the City, for the use of the Parliament of *England*. The Answer, which was return'd the next Day, not being satisfactory, *Cromwell* made his Approaches near the Wall, and caus'd a Battery to be erected the most convenient Place for annoying the sieged, and opening an Entrance to the Beggers. In the mean Time, the Besieged were at idle; but observing where the Enemy bent greatest Strength, endeavour'd there to make the greatest Opposition, by raisng two Retrenchments within, strongly pallisadoing them, and placing some Pieces that might Play to the best Ad-

1650. Advantage. *Cromwell* however, having made all the necessary Preparations, fell furiously to battering the Walls; whereby, after making about a hundred Shot, a Breach was open'd. In the mean while, Colonel *Ewer*, with a thousand Foot, was ordef'd to attempt another Part of the City, call'd *Irish-Town*; and the better to facilitate this Enterprize, the Soldiers were order'd to attack the foremention'd Breach: Which they accordingly did, but were forc'd to retreat with Loss. However, the Design took Effect; for by this Means the whole Strength of the Enemy was held in Play, while Colonel *Ewer* with his Party gain'd *Irish-Town*; which they did with very little Loss. There was on the other Side of the River another small Town, or Suburbs to the main City, and it was thought convenient to send eight Companies of Foot to possess themselves of it; which was done without any Opposition: And this animated them to endeavour to force a Passage over the Bridge into the City; but the same Misfortune happen'd as before at the Breach. However, these desperate Attempts occasion'd the Governour to reflect more seriously upon his present Circumstance. For the Garrison in *Cantwel-Castle*, whom he had sent for, had desir'd Passes of the Lord Governour *Cromwell* to go beyond Sea, and enter themselves into the Service of foreign Princes engaging never to act against the Parliament of England; which Request *Cromwell* granted them. But that which most of all discourag'd the Governour, was, that he must not only defend himself, but must also be his own Relief, there being no Army in the Field sufficient for the Purpose. These things, together with the Consideration, that the longer he stood out the worse he would fare, induc'd him to enter into a Treaty; and so after a Day's Debate,

came to an Agreement upon the following Terms : 1650.  
"First, That the City and Castle should be delivered up to the Lord-Governour *Cromwell*,  
"with all the Arms, Ammunition, and publick Stores. Secondly, The Inhabitants of *Kilkenny* to be protected in their Persons, Goods, and Estates, from the Violence of the Soldiery; and such as had a Mind to remove, to have Liberty so to do, three Months after the Date of the Articles. Thirdly, The Governor, Officers, and Soldiers to march away with Bag and Baggage. Fourthly, The City to pay two thousand Pounds as a Gratuity to his Excellency the Lord *Cromwell's* Army."

THUS was the City of *Kilkenny*, which had been the Nursery of the late Rebellion, and the Residence of the Supreme Council, reduc'd to the Parliament's Obedience in less than a Week's Time, and that chiefly by the Vigilance, Activity, and indefatigable Industry of the Lord-General *Cromwell*; who would always bear a share in the Hardships his Soldiers were expos'd to, and never flincht from them at any Time when his personal Valour was necessary; so that he frequently laid aside the Dignity of a great Commander, to act the Part of a private soldier.

*CROMWELL* staid no longer at *Kilkenny* than was necessary to settle the Affairs of that City; after which he march'd with the Army to *Carrick*, from thence to proceed upon further Action.

Here he wrote a Letter to the Speaker of the His Let-  
Parliament, giving a particular Account of the ter to the  
King of *Kilkenny*, and several other Places of Parlia-  
ment's Importance. And then concerning his com-  
ing over into *England*, he confess'd he had receiv-  
ed many private Intimations of the Parliament's  
treasure, as to that Matter, and Copies of their  
Votes;

1650. Votes; but all these were but private Intimations  
 He said, that he receiv'd not the Speaker's Letter till *March 22d*, which was dated *Jan. 8.* and then suppos'd the Army to be in Winter-Quarters, and the Time of the Year not suitable for present Action: Upon which he concludes thus:

" Making this as the Reason of your Command  
 " (viz. the Army's being in Winter-Quarters  
 " &c.) and your Forces having been in Action  
 " ever since *Jan. 29,* and your Letter which was  
 " to be the Rule of my Obedience, coming to  
 " my Hands after our having been so long in  
 " Action, with Respect had to the Reasons you  
 " were pleas'd to use therein; and having receiv'd  
 " a Letter, sign'd by your self, of the *26th of Feb.* which mentions not a Word of the Con-  
 " tinuance of your Pleasure concerning my com-  
 " ing over; I did humbly conceive it much con-  
 " sisted with my Duty, humbly to beg a positiv  
 " Signification, what your Will is: Professing (a  
 " before the Lord) that I am most ready to obe-  
 " your Commands herein, with all alacrity; rejo-  
 " cing only to be about that Work, which I am  
 " called to by those whom God hath set over me  
 " which I acknowledge to be you; and fearing  
 " only in obeying you, to disobey you. I more  
 " humbly and earnestly beseech you to judge of  
 " me, whether your Letter doth not naturally  
 " allow me the Liberty of begging a more cle-  
 " Expression of your Command and Pleasure  
 " which when vouchsafed to me, will find me  
 " ready and cheerful Observance, from, &c."

*Ormondin* ABOUT this Time, the Marquis of *Ormon-*  
 great Di- the Lord *Castlehaven*, and the Bishop of *Cloghe-*  
*stress.* reflecting on the desperate Condition of their Af-  
 fairs, appointed a Meeting in *West-Meath*, with  
 the Gentlemen of that County, to consider of some  
 better Way to support their Cause, which was now  
 almost ruin'd every where. In this Meeting

ond propos'd; "First, Whether they were able to raise such Forces, as might be sufficient to engage with *Cromwell*. Secondly, In Case they were not able to fight, whether it were not necessary with all the Force they could make, to fall into the *English* Quarters, and there to burn and destroy what they could, that they might not be able to subsist. Thirdly, If this were not feasible, then whether it were not most convenient for them all to join in some Propositions of Peace for the whole Kingdom; or every one for himself, to make his particular Application." His last Expedient was most approv'd by some; at the chief of them being conscious of their own guilt, thought they were not very likely to obtain good Conditions, when Necessity oblig'd em to be Supplicants; and therefore to molest the *English* in their Quarters was judg'd to be most wiseable for them all, thereby to protract Time, till they should have a fit Opportunity to escape out of the Kingdom.

THE Lord Lieutenant having well refresh'd his Army after the Siege of *Kilkenny*, march'd from *Carrick*, and set down before *Clonmel*, another considerable Place, in which was a Garrison two thousand Foot, and a hundred and twenty Horse. No sooner was the Siege form'd but Colonel *Reynolds* and Sir *Theophilus Jones* were order'd to march away with a Detachment of two thousand five hundred Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, to prevent *Ormond's* Design of falling into the Parliament's Quarters; and notice hereof being sent to Charles *Coot*, he thereupon took the Field with three thousand Men. But the Enemy shifting from Place to Place to avoid fighting, Colonel *Reynolds*, that his Men might not remain idle, beg'd *Tecrogham*. In the mean Time, the Lord *Brogbil* being detach'd with another Party of one thousand four hundred Horse and Dragoons, and of Ross.

*Cromwell*  
besieges  
*Clonmel*.

*Lord Brogbil* defeats  
the Bishop  
of Ross.

1650. one thousand two hundred Foot, to fight the Bishop of Ross, who with five thousand Men, was marching to relieve *Clonmel*, he soon got up with them and totally routed them, killing about sever hundred upon the Place, taking twenty Captains, Lieutenants and other Officers ; as also the Bishop himself, with the Standard of the Church of Munster. The Lord Broghil's Horse are said to have done the Service before the Foot came up, and at such a Pass, where a hundred Musqueteers might have repel'd all the Horse in Ireland. The Bishop was carry'd to a Castle, which was kept by his own Forces, and there hang'd before the Walls, in the Sight of the Garrison ; who were so dismay'd at it that they immediately surrend'red the Castle to the Parliament's Forces. This Bishop us'd to say, *There was no way to secure the English, but by hanging them*; and now himself met with the same Fate.

THESE Advantages were a great Encouragement to those who lay before *Clonmel*; which the Lord-Lieutenant us'd more than ordinary Industry to reduce, understanding that its Defendants were very unanimous, and withal choice Men, well armed, and in all Respects prepar'd to make a vigorous Resistance. Besides, it was govern'd by an active Irish-Man, one Hugh O'Neal who had employ'd all Hands in the Town for casting up new Counterscarpes on the inside of the old Walls, and doing every Thing else that might tend to secure the Place; so that it seem'd impossible to gain it by Assault.

HOWEVER, the valiant and active Cromwell whose Business now requir'd a quick Dispatch in Regard that his Service was likely very soon to be wanted elsewhere, resolv'd to try that Course: And so having summon'd the Governor to surrender, and receiving no satisfactory Answer, he order'd the great Guns to be plant'd

*Clonmel*  
taken by  
Storm.

ed

ed; which did such noble Execution, that a Breach was very soon open'd, which the Besiegers, upon a Signal given, courageously enter'd, and met with as gallant Resistance from the besieged; notwithstanding which the former made good their Ground, and maintain'd a Fight for four Hours together, with doubtful Success, there being a great Slaughter on both Sides: But at last the Enemy was forc'd to quit the Place, and betake themselves to Flight; and tho' they were very much favour'd by some Hills near the Town, yet could they not escape the Fury of the victorious Soldiers, who kill'd many of them in the Pursuit. An eminent Commander in the Army, who was himself in this Fight, gave this Account of it: " That they found in *Clonmel* the stoutest Enemy that ever was found by the Army in *Ireland*; and it was his Opinion, and of many more, that there was never seen so hot a Storm of so long a Continuance, and so gallantly defended, neither in *England* nor *Ireland*." The subduing of this Place, tho' with much Difficulty, made such an Impression on many more, that in a very little Time they submitted without so much as striking a stroke.

WHILE *Cromwell* was thus conquering in one Other part of *Ireland*, *Coot* and *Venables* had the like Successes in another, and brought all the North <sup>in Ireland.</sup> under his Obedience: The Bishop of *Clogher* was entirely routed, and being taken Prisoner, met with the same Fate as the Bishop of *Ross*; and in this Fight three thousand of the old Irish rebels were slain.

THUS the Lord-Lieutenant was on all Hands attended with Success; and he gave a constant account of his Proceedings to the Parliament and Council of State, in all his Letters exhorting them to give the Glory unto God, to whom

1650. it was only due. His Proceeding so prosperously in his Affairs, and obtaining thereby so great a Sway, occasion'd a Book to be dispers'd about this Time, entituled, *The Character of King Cromwell*; which tho' suppress'd for a Libel, is said to have been even receiv'd as a kind of Prophecy. And indeed by the good Government of the Army in *Ireland*, and the great Success of it, and the well ordering of the civil Affairs of that Kingdom, *Cromwell* obtain'd a very great Interest, not only in the Officers of the Army both there and here, but likewise in the Parliament and Council of State, and all their Party; only the *Scots* and *Presbyterians* were generally no Favourers of him or his Proceedings. He was now preparing to take *Waterford* and *Duncannon*, which he had miss'd of before; and ha

*Cromwell* appoints *Ireton* his Deputy.

actually block'd up *Waterford*, when about the middle of May, he was by a new Order, or rather Request of the Parliament, oblig'd to leave the finishing of his so far extended Conquest to his Son-in-law *Ireton*, whom, for that Purpose, he constituted Lord-Deputy. He had been in *Ireland* about nine Months; a very inconsiderable Time, if we respect the great Work he performed therein, which was more than ever any King or Queen of *England* was able to do in so many Years before.

All *Ireland* *WATERFORD* was surrender'd soon after his Departure; and so remarkable was the Parliament's Success in all Parts of that Kingdom thro' the active Valour, Prudence, and Industry of the Lord-Lieutenant *Cromwell*, and the men, whom he employ'd under him, that in less than a Year's Time, they were Masters of all the fortify'd, *Limerick*, *Galloway*, and some few Garrisons at *Waterford*. Before the Lord-Governour left the Isle, that he might the better weaken the *Irish*, he contriv'd Means for the

porting no less than forty thousand of them out 1650.  
of the Nation, into the Service of foreign Prin-  
ces; of whom few ever return'd again to their  
native Country: So great a Scourge was he  
to that rebellious and blood-thirsty Generati-  
on.

CROMWELL having appointed *Ireton* his tri-  
Deputy, and visited those Places in *Munster*, <sup>umphant</sup>  
which had lately submitted to the Parliament, <sup>Return to</sup>  
with Design to settle the Civil as well as Mili-  
tary Affairs of that Province; for which End he  
made *John Coke* Esq; Chief Justice of *Munster*;  
and having order'd all Things in the best man-  
ner that was possible, he embark'd for *England*,  
and sail'd home, as 'twere, in Triumph. After  
a boisterous Passage, he landed at *Bristol*, where  
the great Guns were fir'd thrice over at his Ar-  
rival, and he was welcom'd with many other  
Demonstrations of Joy. Hence, without delay,  
he posts for *London*; and on *Hounslow-Heath*,  
was met by the Lord-General *Fairfax*, many  
Members of Parliament and Officers of the Ar-  
my, and Multitudes of People, who came out  
of Curiosity to see him, who had made himself  
famous, and acquir'd such high Renown by  
his great and valiant Actions. Being thus at-  
tended, he proceeds on, and coming to *Hyde-  
park* is saluted with great Guns, and several  
volleys of Shot from Colonel *Barkstead's* Regi-  
ment, which was drawn up in the Way for that  
purpose. Thus in a triumphant Manner he enter'd  
the City of *London*, amidst a Croud of Atten-  
dants, Friends, Citizens, &c. and was receiv'd  
with great Demonstrations of Joy. Here 'tis  
serv'd, that as he did not refuse the Honours  
that were paid to him on this Occasion, so he  
new'd he had too much Sense to make much Ac-  
count of them; for as he was passing by *Ty-  
nham*, a certain Flatterer pointing to the Crouds of  
People

1650. People that came to meet him, and saying, See what a Multitude of People come to attend your Triumph; he answer'd with a Smile and very unconcern'd, More would come to see me hang'd. Being conducted to the Cock-pit, which had been prepar'd for his Reception, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and many other Persons of Quality, paid their Visits to him, congratulating the safe Arrival of his Excellency, and expressing their own and the Nation's great Obligations to him. Having resum'd his Place in Parliament, the Speaker in an elegant Speech gave him the Thanks of the House, for the great and faithful Services he had perform'd for the Common-wealth in the Nation of Ireland: After which, the Lord Lieutenant gave them a full and particular Account of the present State and Condition of the Kingdom.

*Ireton's  
Death and  
Character* AND here, as it will not fall in our Way in the remaining Part of this History, we shall conclude this Chapter with the Death and Character of the Lord-Deputy Ireton, who died about a Year and a half after Cromwell's Departure. He had proceeded very successfully in his new Government and Command; and after the taking of several Places, giving Articles to some, and making Examples of others, he attempted the strong City of Limerick, which, after a long Siege, at last surrendered to him: But falling sick of the Plague he shortly after, he ended his Days on the 20 of November 1651. This Man has been highly extoll'd by some, and as much condemned by others. So far as we have had Occasion to mention him in this History, we have given as just an Account of his Actions and Proceedings as we could; wherein the Reader must be left to censure or acquit him as

shall think fit, after we have given this short Character of him from *Whitelock*, who seems the most impartial: " This Gentleman, says he, was a Person very active and industrious (or as he says elsewhere, a Man of Industry and Invention) and stiff in his Ways and Purposes: He was of good Abilities for Counsel as well as Action; and made much use of his Pen, and was very forward to reform the Proceedings in Law, wherein his having been bred a Lawyer was an Help to him. He was stout in the Field, and wary and prudent in his Counsel, and exceedingly forward as to the Duties of a Common-wealth. He married *Cromwell's* Daughter, who had a great Opinion of him; and no Man could prevail so much, nor order him so far as *Ireton* could. His Death struck a great Sadness into *Cromwell*; and indeed it was a great Loss to him, of so able, and active, so faithful, and so near a Relation, and Officer under him." The new Commonwealth had also a great Loss by his Death; so, to express their Gratitude for his important Services, order'd his Body to be brought over to *England*; where having first lain in state in *Somerset-House*, he was interr'd at *Westminster* among the *English* Kings, with the greatest Pomp and Magnificence.



## C H A P. III.

*From Cromwell's Return out of Ireland, to  
the Battle of Dunbar.*

**I**N less than a Month after the Lord-Lieutenant's Return from his Conquests in *Ireland*, he was employ'd by the Parliament in a new Expedition against the *Scots*; who, upon the King's Death, had proclaim'd his Son, Prince *Charles*, King of *Scotland*, *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and sent Commissioners to him at the *Hague*, to invite his Majesty into *Scotland*, rather to acquaint him upon what Terms he might come thither: For tho' they had declar'd his Right by Succession, yet before he should be admitted to the Exercise of his royal Power, he was to " Give Satisfaction to the Kingdom in those Things which concern the Security of Religion, the Unity between the Kingdoms, and the Good and Peace of that Kingdom, according to the national Covenant, and the solemn League and Covenant." Whilst these Things were transacting, the King began to perceive, that the States-General were very uneasy at his Continuance in their Dominions, fearing it might give some Umbrage to the English Common-wealth, with whom they had no Mind to break. They gave daily Intimations, That the King's residing at the Hague would be very inconvenient for them; and owing wholly to the great Interest and Dexterity of the Prince of *Orange*, that they did not send a Message directly to desire him to depart. However, the King resolv'd to remove; and an

cident happen'd at this Time, which hasten'd 1650.  
 that Resolution; which was the Assassination of Dr. Dorislaus at the Hague. This Man had been concern'd in the late King's Trial; and being sent as an Agent from England, for the begetting and continuing a right Understanding and fair Correspondence betwixt the two Republicks, while he was at Supper in his Lodgings, with many others at the Table, six Gentlemen enter'd the Room with their Swords drawn, and bid those at the Table not stir, for they intended no harm to any but the Agent, who came from the Rebels in England, who had lately murder'd their King. Hereupon one Whitford pull'd Dorislaus from the Table, and kill'd him at his Feet, saying, *Thus dies one of the Regicides*: And so putting up their Swords, they went quietly out of the House, and escap'd unpunish'd, tho' the States pretended they had us'd their utmost Endeavours to get them apprehended.

THE King left the Hague in May 1649, taking his Journey into France, where he staid some Months with the Queen his Mother at St. Germans; But the Court of France growing uneasy at his Continuance there, he at length embark'd for the Isle of Jersey, which together with Guernsey, Man, and Scilly, had not yet submitted to the Parliament.

IT was no sooner known in Scotland, that the King was arriv'd at Jersey, but Sir George Wigram Laird of Libberton was sent with a Message to him; who, in the Beginning of October, presented the following Desires and Offers of the King. States of Scotland: *First*, "That he would sign the Covenant, and pass an Act for all Persons to take it. Secondly, That he would pass the Acts of Parliament in Scotland, which were ratify'd by their two last Sessions. Third-

1650. " ly, That he would withdraw his Commission  
 " from the Marquess of Montross. Fourthly, That  
 " he would put away all Papists from about him.  
 " Fifthly, That he would appoint some Place in  
 " Holland to treat with Commissioners from the  
 " Estates of Scotland. Sixthly, That he would  
 " give a speedy Answer."

ABOUT this time, the Rulers in England having prepar'd a Fleet against the Isle of Jersey, it was judg'd necessary for his Majesty to leave that Place, and return thro' France to Breda. Here he fell into new Treaties with the Scotch Commissioners, who waiting on him about the latter End of March, insisted on his Compliance with the following Propositions from the Kirk and States of Scotland: " First, That all excommunicated Persons should be forbid Access to the Court. Secondly, That the King would by solemn Oath, and under his Hand and Seal, declare his Allowance of the National Covenant of Scotland, and of the Solemn League and Covenant of the three Nations. Thirdly, That he should confirm all Acts of Parliament, enjoining the Solemn League and Covenant, establishing Presbytery, the Directory, the Confession of Faith and Catechism in the Kingdom of Scotland, as they are already approved by the General Assembly of the Kirk, and the Parliament; and that he would observe the same in his own Family, and swear never to propose, or endeavour the Alteration of the same. Fourthly, That he would consent, that all civil Matters might be determin'd by the present and subsequent Parliaments in Scotland, and all Matters ecclesiastical by the general Assembly of the Kirk."

**Unfortunate** WHILE the King was consulting with his Friends what was best to be done in this Exigency the Marquis of Montross. An Accident happen'd that had like to have broke off the Treaty. Whilst his Majesty resided at the Hague

Hague, the Marquess of *Montross* waited on him, 1650.  
and undertook, if he would follow his Advice, to  
restore him to his Kingdoms by Force of Arms.  
He only desir'd of the King Power to act in his  
Name, and a Supply in Money, with a Letter re-  
commending him to the King of *Denmark* for  
some Ships, and such Arms as he could spare.

ALL these being granted by the King, and  
reparations made for the Expedition, *Montross*,  
with no more than six or seven hundred Men,  
in four Ships, resolv'd to venture his Fortune,  
expecting to join with the northern People in  
*Scotland*, who had formerly experienc'd his great  
Bravery and Conduct. He got first to the Is-  
lands of *Orkney*, and from thence into the High-  
lands; but could perform nothing of what he  
had undertaken, *Lesley* having order'd Colonel  
*Traughan* to advance towards him, with three  
hundred choice Horse; who in April, 1650, set  
upon this ill compos'd Body of *Montross*, and was  
easily routed them. *Montross* fled, but was at  
last betray'd by one of those to whom he en-  
listed himself, *Mackland* of *Affin*, and was  
brought Prisoner to *Edinburgh*. He was carri-  
tho' the Streets with the most brutal In-  
sults that could be devis'd, and in a few Days,  
a Sentence pronounc'd by the Lord *Lowden*,  
was hang'd upon a Gibbet thirty Foot high  
for three Hours; after which he was quarter'd,  
and his Head set upon the *Talbooth*, and his  
Garters and Arms over the Gates of *Sterling*, *Glas-*  
*Dundee*, and *Aberdeen*. His Behaviour un-  
der all his Sufferings was as great and firm to  
the last, as the Fury of the Covenanters against  
him was black and universally detested.

THE violent Party in *Scotland* were hereup-  
on for breaking off the Treaty with the King,  
by the Date of the Marquess's Commission,  
it

1650. it appear'd to have been granted before the Treaty commenc'd: However, it was carried not to recal their Commissioners. On the other Hand, one would think that this Cruelty to one who had acted by his Commission, would effectually have prevented the King from complying with them. But he was in no Condition to struggle with these Men, and so quickly yield

The King yield to all their Demands. And being furnish'd with some Dutch Men of War by the Prince of Orange, he embark'd for Scotland; where

he landed on the 16th of June, after a Demand from the Council, That he would sign both the Covenants before he set his Feet on the Shore; which he was persuaded to consent. He tarry'd several Days at Dundee, attended with a Committee from the Parliament, and another from the Kirk, who were urging his Majesty to sign several Propositions, and before he comply'd, would not agree to his coming to Edinburgh to be crown'd.

An Army rais'd by the Scots. THE Parliament and Committee of Estates were likewise endeavouring to raise an Army for the King's Service, as they alledg'd, and that End had publish'd an ACT for training of every fourth Man, who was able to bear Arms throughout the Kingdom. With this Army suppos'd they intended to invade England, & secure the Establishment of the King in his Throne. The Preachers were very earnest in their Persuasions to engage the People in the Cause; and notwithstanding the several Objections they met with, by Reason of their Diversions among themselves, they compleated their Levies to about sixteen thousand Foot, and thousand Horse. The King was suffer'd to once to see this Army; but not to stay in it; they fear'd he might gain too much upon the Soldiers. Special Care was taken not to in-

Malignants or Engagers, as they call'd the Hamiltonian Party, to be in this Army. All who had deserted their Cause, or were thought indifferent to either side, which they call'd detestable Neutrality, were put out of Commission. And now the Preachers, thinking they had got an Army of Saints, seem'd well assur'd of Success.

1650.

WHILST these Transactions and Preparations were carrying on in *Scotland*, the Commonwealth of *England* took great Care to provide for its own Support and Security. To this End, as has been already mention'd, before the King landed in *Scotland*, it was thought necessary to send for the Lord-Lieutenant *Cromwell* out of *Ireland*; who immediately advis'd the Juncts of the Council of State, not to be behind hand with their enemy, nor to trust to any After-game, but to prevent the *Scots Invasion of England*, by carrying the War directly into *Scotland*. But some stupulous Men amongst them objected, *That to begin a War with Scotland would be contrary to the Covenant*: To which it was answer'd, "That the *Scots* had already broken the Covenant, and that therefore it was not now binding on the one side, after it had been dissolv'd on the other." So that they came at length to this resolution, "That having a formed Army, well provided and experienc'd, they would march it forthwith into *Scotland*, to prevent the *Scots* marching into *England*, and the Miseries that might attend such an Invasion." The Lord-General *Fairfax*, being advis'd with rein, seem'd at first to like the Design; but being afterwards hourly perswaded by the Presbyterian Ministers, and his own Lady, who was great Patroness of them, he declar'd, *That he is not satisfy'd, that there was a just Ground the Parliament of England, to send their Army to invade Scotland; but in case the Scots should invade*

*Cromwell advises to invade Scotland.*

1650. invade England, then he was ready to engage  
 against them in Defence of his own Country. The  
 Council of State being somewhat troubled at the  
 Lord-General's Scruples, appointed a Committee to confer with him, in order to satisfy him  
 of the Justice and Lawfulness of this Undertak-  
 ing. This Committee were Cromwell, Lambert  
 Harrison, St. John, Whitelock, &c. Cromwell o-  
 pen'd the Conference; and after some previous  
 Discourse between the Lord-General and the  
 Committee, his Excellency acquainted them with  
 the Ground of his Satisfaction, declaring, That  
*he did not see that the Scots had given sufficient Cause for this Invasion of their Country by the English.* Upon which Cromwell proceeded thus

His Speech in the Committee, for satisfying the General.

" I confess, my Lord, that if they have given us no Cause to invade them, it will not be justifiable for us to do it; and to make War upon them without a sufficient Ground for it will be contrary to that which in Conscience we ought to do, and displeasing both to God and good Men. But, my Lord, if they have invaded us, as your Lordship knows they have done since the National League and Covenant, and contrary to it, in that Action of Duke H<sup>m</sup>ilton, which was by Order and Authority from the Parliament of that Kingdom, and so by Act of the whole Nation by their Representatives; and if they now give us too much Cause of Suspicion, that they intend another Invasion upon us, joining with their King, with whom they have made a full Agreement without the Assent or Privity of this Commonwealth; and are very busy at this present in raising Forces, and Money to carry on their Design: If these Things are not a sufficient Ground and Cause for us to endeavour to provide for the Safety of our own Country, to prevent the Miseries which an Invasion

1650.

the *Scots* would bring upon us, I humbly submit it to your Excellency's Judgment. That they have formerly invaded us, and brought a War into the Bowels of our Country, is known to all, wherein God was pleas'd to bless us with Success against them: And that they now intend a new Invasion upon us, I do as really believe, and have as good Intelligence of it, as we can have of any Thing that is not yet acted. Therefore I say, my Lord, that upon these Grounds, I think we have a most just Cause to begin, or rather to return and requite their Hostility first begun upon us; and thereby to free our Country (if God shall be pleas'd to assist us, and I doubt not but he will) from the great Misery and Calamity of having an Army of *Scots* within our Country. That there will be a War between us, I fear is unavoidable: Your Excellency will soon determine, whether it be better to have this War in the Bowels of another Country, or of our own; and that it will be in one of them, I think it without Scruple." But no Arguments could prevail on the General, who declar'd that his Conscience was not satisfy'd as to the Justice of this War; and therefore, that he might be no Hindrance to the Parliament's Design, he desir'd to lay down his Commission, on which *Cromwell* spoke again, as follows: "I am very sorry your Lordship should have Thoughts of laying down your Commission, by which God hath bless'd you in the Performance of so many eminent Services for the Parliament. I pray, my Lord, consider all your faithful Servants, us who are Officers, who have serv'd under you, and desire to serve under no other General. It would be a great Discouragement to all of us, and a great Discouragement to the Affairs of the Parliament,

" for

1650. " for our noble General to entertain any Thoughts  
 ~~~~~ " of laying down his Commission. I hope your  
 " Lordship will never give so great an Advan-  
 " tage to the publick Enemy, nor so much dis-  
 " hearten your Friends, as to think of laying  
 " down your Commission." But all this would  
 not do: The General still continu'd in the same  
 Mind, and concluded thus: " What would you  
 " have me do? As far as my Conscience will  
 " give way, I am willing to join with you still  
 " in the Service of the Parliament; but where  
 " the Conscience is not satisfy'd, none of you,  
 " am sure, will engage in any Service; and that  
 " is my Condition in this, and therefore I must  
 " desire to be excused."

*CROMWELL* and the other Officers in the Committee were most earnest in persuading the General to continue his Commission; and yet't said, there was Cause enough to believe that he did not over much desire it. *Ludlow* says that *Cromwell* press'd the Council of State, " That notwithstanding the unwillingness of the Lord *Fairfax* to command upon this Occasion, they would yet continue him to be General of the Army; professing for his own Part, That he would rather chuse to serve under him in the Post than to command the greatest Army in Europe." He also informs us, that the foremention'd Committee was appointed upon the Motion of Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, who says he, *acted his Part so to the Life, that really thought him in earnest.* And indeed, if he had not been in earnest, I do not think he would have us'd the most likely Arguments to convince the General of the lawfulness of the designed Expedition, and to prevail on him to continue his Commission; as he certainly did.

THE Committee having made their Report to the Council of State, of all that had pass'd, a

acquainted them with the Lord-General's total Avereness to march with the Army into Scotland; and this being order'd to be again reported to the Parliament, new Endeavours were us'd to prevail on his Excellency, but without Success; and short-<sup>Fairfax</sup> after he thought fit to resign his Commission. But the Parliament were not much at a Loss for one to succeed in that great Office; for having sufficiently experienc'd the Valour, Conduct, and Faithfulness of Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, they soon voted, *nemine contradicente*, that he should be their General; and so an Act pass'd, *For constituting and appointing Oliver Cromwell Esq;* to be Captain-General in chief of all the Forces raised, and to be rais'd, by Authority of Parliament, within the Common-wealth of England.

A Day or two after, there was a private Conference between General *Cromwell* and Colonel *Ludlow*; the Occasion whereof was this: The General told *Ludlow*, as he sat by him in the House, that having observ'd an Alteration in his Looks and Carriage towards him, he apprehended that he had entertain'd some suspicions of him; and being persuad'd of the Tendency of both their Designs to the good of the Publick, he desir'd that a Meeting might be appointed, wherein they might freely lay open the Grounds of their Mistakes and Misapprehensions, and a Foundation might be laid for a good Understanding between them for the future. *Ludlow* answer'd, That he discover'd in him wha he had never perceiv'd in himself; yet since he was pleas'd to do him the Honour to desire a free Conversation with him, he assur'd him of his readiness therein. Hereupon they agreed to meet that Afternoon in the Council of State, and from thence to retire to a private Room; where General *Cromwell* endeavour'd to persuade

Lud-

1650. Ludlow of the Necessity incumbent upon him to do several Things that appear'd extraordinary in the Judgment of some Men, who in Opposition to him, took such Courses as would bring Ruin upon themselves, as well as him and the publick Cause; assuring him, That his Intentions were entirely directed to the good of the People, and that he was most ready to sacrifice his Life in their Service. Ludlow confess'd his former Dissatisfaction with him and the rest of the Army, when they were treating with the King, whom he look'd upon as the only Obstruction to the Settlement of the Nation and with their Actions at the Rendezvous where they shot a Soldier to Death, and imprison'd several others, upon the Account of that Treaty; which he conceiv'd to have been done without Authority, and for sinister Ends: Yet as they had since manifested their Adherence to the Common-wealth, he was well enough satisfy'd tho' some Things were still carry'd otherwile than he could wish. Hereupon (as Ludlow himself, who relates this Conference, tells us) the General acknowledg'd, that his Dissatisfaction with the Army whilst they were treating with the King, was founded upon good Reasons, and excus'd what had been done at the Rendezvous as absolutely necessary to keep Things from falling into Confusion; which must have follow'd upon that Division, if it had not been seasonably prevented. He further tells us, that the General profess'd to desire nothing more, than that the Government of the Nation might be settled in free and equal Common-wealth; acknowledging that there was no other probable Means to knock out the old Family and Government from returning upon them. Then after a long Discourse favouring much of Enthusiasm, after the manner of those Times, he added, "That it was his Intention to contribute the utmost of his Endeavour

" deavours to make a thorough Reformation of 1650.  
" the Clergy and Law: But, said he, the Sons ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> Zerviah are yet too strong for us; and we  
" cannot mention the Reformation of the Law, but  
" they presently cry out, we design to destroy Pro-  
perty; whereas the Law, as 'tis now constitut-  
ed, serves only to maintain the Lawyers, and to  
encourage the Rich to oppress the Poor: Affirm-  
ing, that Mr. Coke, then Justice in Ireland, by  
proceeding in a summary and expeditious Way,  
determin'd more Causes in a Week, than West-  
minster-Hall in a Year." He said further,  
That Ireland was as a clean Paper in that Par-  
ticular, and capable of being govern'd by  
such Laws as should be found most agreeable  
to Justice; which may be so impartially admi-  
nistr'd, as to be a good Precedent even to Eng-  
land it self, where when they once perceive  
Property preserv'd at an easy and cheap Rate  
in Ireland, they will never permit themselves  
to be cheated and abused, as now they are."

BEFORE the Lord-General's Departure for He con-  
e Scotch Expedition, he mov'd the Council of <sup>afflts a-</sup>  
ate, " That since they had employ'd him a- <sup>bout the</sup> Affairs of  
bout a Work which would require all his Care, <sup>Ireland.</sup>  
they would be pleas'd to ease him of the Af-  
fairs of Ireland :" Which they not consenting  
he then mov'd, " That they would at least  
send over some Commissioners for managing  
the Civil Affairs; assuring them likewise, that  
the Military being more than Major-General  
Bretton could possibly carry on, without the  
Affistance of some General Officer to command  
the Horse, which Employment was become va-  
cant by the Death of the brave Lieutenant-  
General Jones, it was absolutely necessary to  
commissionate some worthy Person for that  
Employment, and to authorize him to be one  
of their Commissioners for the civil Govern-  
M " ment."

1650. "ment." And thereupon he mention'd Colonel Ludlow as a fit Person for that Charge; telling them, "That tho' he himself was empower'd by virtue of his Commission from the Parliament, to nominate the Lieutenant-General of the Horse, yet because the Gentleman he propos'd, was a Member of Parliament, and of the Council of State, he desir'd, for the better securing the Obedience of the Army to him, that the Parliament might be mov'd to nominate and appoint him to that Employment."

In the End the Council agreed, "That the House should be mov'd to appoint [Colonel] Ludlow Lieutenant-General of the Horse in Ireland; and that the Lord-General Cromwell, Major-General Ireton, Colonel Ludlow, Colonel John Jones, and Major Salway, or any three of them, should be authoriz'd by Act of Parliament, to be Commissioners for the Administration of the civil Affairs in the Nation." And the Parliament concur'd with the Council herein, with the Addition only of Mr. Weaver, a Member of the House, to be one of the Commissioners for managing the civil Government.

He sets  
out for  
Scotland.

Arrives  
at York.

THE Lord-General Cromwell having thus provided for the well ordering of the Affairs of England, on the 29th of June, address'd himself to his Journey towards the Army in the North. He receiv'd great Demonstrations of Respect from the generality of the People, as he pass'd along; and on the 4th of July he arriv'd at York, accompany'd with many great Officers of the Army. Here the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen attend him, and invited him and his Officers to a family Dinner, where they were highly caref'd and entertain'd with mighty Expressions of Joy. But having his Business chiefly at Heart,

id here no longer than to order Supplies for  
the Army, and hasten their Rendezvous. 1650.

BEFORE this, the Committee of Estates in The *Scots*  
*otland*, seeming to be surpriz'd at the News of <sup>alarm'd</sup> *English* Army's marching northwards, be-  
en to expostulate the Matter with the Parlia- <sup>send a Let-</sup>  
ment; sending a Letter to the Speaker by Co- <sup>ter to the</sup>  
nel Grey, to this Effect, "That they won-  
der'd at the Report of the *English* Army's  
Advance towards their Country, and that ma-  
ny of their Ships were seiz'd and secur'd by  
the *English* contrary to the Act of Pacificati-  
on in the large Treaty, whereby no Acts of  
Hostility were to be us'd against each other,  
without three Months Warning given before-  
hand: That the Forces they were raising were  
only for their own Defence; and therefore  
they desir'd to know, if the *English* Army,  
now on their March northward, were design'd  
for Offence or Defence; to guard their own  
orders, or invade *Scotland*." Letters of the  
Import were also sent to Sir *Arthur Hasle-*  
Governour of *Newcastle*, Major-General *Lam-*  
and the Lord-General *Cromwell*.

On the other Hand, the Parliament of Eng- The Par-  
publish'd a Declaration of the Grounds and liament's  
Declar-  
ions of their Army's Advance northwards; tion of  
of which were to this Effect: "First, the  
that the *Scots*, contrary to their Agreement, Grounds  
d once already invaded *England* under Duke of their  
milton, and were now ready for a second Proceed-  
tion; so that the *English* were advanc'd a-  
gainst them only by Way of Prevention. Se-  
condly, That altho' they could not claim to  
mselves any Authority or Dominion over  
*English*, yet in *Scotland* they proclaimed  
Charles Stuart King of *England* and *Ireland*;  
since that, promis'd to assist him against  
Common-wealth. Thirdly, That they de-  
clar'd

1650. " clar'd against the *English* Parliament and A  
 my, as *Sectaries*, ranking them with Malig-  
 nants and Papists; and had resolv'd to impo-  
 their Form of Religion upon the *Eng-*  
*Nation.*"

THE Scots perceiving that with all their Ar-  
 the Parliament of *England* was not to be im-  
 pos'd on, now labour'd by all Methods possib-  
 to render their Army odious, and incense the  
 People against them. To this End they ga-  
 out, " That *Cromwell* had a Commission  
 come for *Scotland* with Fire and Sword  
 and was to give no Quarter to any Scot  
 and that he was to have all he could con-  
 quer for himself and his Soldiers." And  
 they further reported, " That the Eng-  
 Army intended to put all Men to the Swo-  
 and to thrust hot Irons thro' the Wom-  
 Breasts." This exceedingly terrify'd the Pe-  
 ple, till they were somewhat eas'd by a De-  
 clarion of the Lord-General and the Am-  
 directed to the well affected in *Scotland*,

A Decla. the following Purpose: " That being to  
 ration of " vance into *Scotland*, for the Ends express'd  
 the Lord. " the Parliament's Declaration; and consider-  
 General " the Practices of some in that Nation, whi-  
*Cromwell* " Designs were by unjust Reproaches and  
 to the " Slanders to make their Army odious, and  
 well affec- " present them as Monsters rather than Men,  
 ted in " therefore, to clear themselves, they could  
 " no otherwise than remind them of their  
 " behaviour when they were before in *Scotl-*  
 " What Injury was then done either to the  
 " sons, Hous's, or Goods of any? Consider  
 " this, it was hop'd that the present false  
 " ports would not affright them from their  
 " bitations." And they further declar'd,  
 the Integrity of their Hearts, " That suc-  
 " the Gentry and Commonalty, as inhab-  
 " "

where the Army might come; they being none of those who by their Counsels laid the Foundation of a second Invasion, or clos'd with him who had endeavour'd to engage foreign Princes against the Common-wealth of *England*, and had exercis'd actual Hostility, by commissioning Pyrates to spoil the Ships and Goods belonging thereto; should not have the least Violence or Injury offer'd to them, either in Body or Goods; or if any should happen, upon Complaint made, Redres and Satisfaction should immediately be had. Wherefore they desir'd all Persons to continue in their Habitations, assuring them they should enjoy what they had without any Disturbance." Copies of this Declaration were immediately sent to *Scotland*; and the Country-Folks that came *Berwick-Market*, had their Pockets fill'd with them, to carry home and disperse among their neighbours.

THE General in the mean Time leaving *York*, He proceeds in his Journey. to *Northallerton*, and the next Day to *Dar-ton*, where as he pass'd by, the Train of Ar-  
ery, which was quarter'd there, saluted him in seven Pieces of Ordnance. From hence he is to *Durham*, where he was met by Sir *Arthur Lerigg*, who conducted him to *Newcastle*, where was Governour, and entertain'd him there a great deal of Gallantry. Here the Lord-  
General and his Officers kept a solemn Fast, to procure the Blessing of God upon the prefent edition: And then having duly consider'd Affairs of the Army, he setteld a Method supplying it from Time to Time with Provisions. This done, he leaves *Newcastle*, and turns towards *Berwick*; and his Forces being come up, he on the 20th of July caus'd a general Rendezvous of them to be on *Haggerston*, four Miles from *Berwick*; where he was

1650. receiv'd by the Army with great shouting and other Signs of Joy. Being all drawn up in Battalia, there appear'd a gallant Body of about five thousand Horse and eleven thousand Foot. The General march'd them about two or three hundred Paces, and then dismiss'd them to the Quarters, whilst himself went to Berwick; where the Army's Declaration was sent into Scotland containing the Grounds of their March into the Kingdom; one Copy of it to the Scotch General, another to the Parliament, and a third to the Committee of Estates.

THE Army being thus quarter'd upon the very Edge of Scotland, the Lord-General two Days after, drew them out on a Hill within Berwick Bounds; where they had a full Prospect of the adjacent Country, the Stage whereon they were so soon to act their Parts. Here he made a Speech to them, declaring the Grounds of their present Undertaking, and something in Relation to his coming from Ireland, and the Providence which had designed this Command to him; and exhorted them to be faithful and courageous, and that not to doubt of a Blessing from God, and Encouragement from himself. This Speech was answer'd with loud and unanimous Acclamations from the Soldiers; who being order'd to march

He enters Scotland. went on shouting as they enter'd Scotland. That Night they quarter'd in the Field near Lord Mordington's Castle; where the Lord-General, for the better preserving good Order and Discipline, caus'd Proclamation to be made throughout the Camp, "That none, on pain of Death, should offer Violence or Injury to the Persons or Goods of any in Scotland in Arms; and withal, that none on the pain of Penalty, do presume, without special License to straggle half a Mile from their Quarters. From hence they advanc'd for Coberspath,

the next Day arriv'd at *Dunbar*, where they 1650.  
 were recruited with Provisions from the Ships ~~sent~~  
 sent thither from *England* for that Purpose: For <sup>Arrives at</sup>  
 the Country afforded them none; the Scotch E-  
 states having taken a Course before-hand, to clear  
 all the Country from *Berwick* to *Edinburgh*, of  
 all Things that might afford any Succour or Re-  
 lief to the *English* Army. But this Entertain-  
 ment did not in the least discourage them, it be-  
 ing no other than they expected.

THE Army being somewhat refresh'd at *Dunbar*, march'd from thence to *Haddington*, twelve Miles from *Edinburgh*; and all this without the least Opposition, not seeing all this while the Face of an Enemy in Arms: Nor did they in all their March see one *Scotchman* under sixty Years of Age, nor any Youth above six, and but very few Women and Children; they being all fled from their Habitations, upon their Ministers telling them, "That the *English* would cut the Throats of all between sixty and sixteen Years old, cut off the right Hands of all the Youths under sixteen and above six, burn the Womens Breasts with hot Irons, and destroy all before them." Whereupon, as the Army march'd thro' some Towns, poor Women fell on their Knees, begging that they would not burn their Breasts before they destroy'd them, and Children beg'd them to save their Lives; so much did the People believe what their Ministers had told them.

THE next Day after the Army's Remove to *Haddington*, they understood that the Enemy was dispos'd to give them Battle on a Heath call'd *Gladsmoor*. Whereupon the *English* endeavour'd to possess themselves of the Place before them, that they might have the Advantage of Ground in case they should meet them: But the *Scots*, it seems, thought not fit to appear.

1650. Upon this Major-General *Lambert* and Colonel *Whalley* were order'd to advance with one thousand four hundred Horse toward *Muscleborough*, four Miles from *Edinburgh*; and Major-Enemy to *Hains* commanding the Forlorn, fac'd the Enemy within three Quarters of a Mile of their Trenches. The next Day the Lord-General drew up his whole Army before *Edinburgh*, near which the *Scotch* Army was encamp'd upon a very advantageous Ground. Here some Skirmishes happen'd about the Possession of King *Arthur's Hill*, a Place within a Mile of the City; which the *English* gain'd, having beaten the Enemy from it; and soon after posses'd themselves of a Church and several Houses.

Endeavours to draw the Enemy to a general Engagement, but in vain.  
Beats them in several Skirmishes.

But all these Provocations could not prevail on the *Scots* to forsake their Trenches, nor would they by any Means be drawn forth to engage in a general Combat. The Lord-General intended to have made an Attempt upon them; but there fell so great a Rain which continu'd all Night, and part of the next Day, and his Men were so wearied out with hard Duty, that he was oblig'd to draw off his Army to *Muscleborough*, there to refresh and recruit it with Provisions. As he drew off, the *Scots*, who labour'd all they could to vex and distress the *English* Army, without coming to a general Engagement with them, sallied out, and fallin upon the Rear-Guard, put them into some Disorder: But Major-General *Lambert* and Colonel *Whalley* coming in to their Relief, routed the *Scots*, and beat them back into their Trenches. *Lambert* was wounded in the Charge, and had his Horse kill'd under him; but they took two Colours, and several Prisoners of the Enemy whilst the King stood all the while upon the Castle and saw the Encounter. Some few of the *English* were kill'd, but far more of the *Scots* amongst whom were some Persons of Quality. A

ter this, the *English* march'd on quietly to *Muscleborough*, tho' in a very wet and weary Condition. That Night they stood upon their Guard, expecting every Moment to be set upon by their Enemy; as at last they were: For between three and four a Clock in the Morning, Major-General *Montgomery*, and Colonel *Straughan*, with fifteen Companies of choice Horse, fell into their Quarters with such Fury, that they bore down the Guards, and put a Regiment of Horse in Disorder. But the *English* Army taking the Alarm, charg'd them so home that they put them to the Rout, and pursu'd them within half a League of *Edinburgh*, killing several Officers and Soldiers, and taking many Prisoners. The *Scots*, when they fell first upon the *English*, cry'd out, Give no Quarter, but kill all; and particularly they resolv'd to give Quarter to one Captain *Phineas*, whom notwithstanding the *English* brought off. There were two Ministers in the *Scotch* Party, and one of them was taken Prisoner; and 'tis said the *Scotch* Soldiers confess'd, that the Ministers did most stir them up to Cruelty. The Lord-General, to shew his Generosity, sent the chief Officers of the *Scots* who were wounded and taken, in his own Coach, and the rest in Wagons to *Edinburgh*; which gain'd him great Ap-pause, and tended much to vindicate him from those Reports that had been given out of his cruelty, whereby many had been prejudic'd against him.

THE Army having now well nigh spent their Marches again to *Dunbar*, the Lord-General retires with them to *Dunbar*, to meet and take in such fresh supplies as were sent thither by Sea, by Order of the *English* Parliament. Here they remov'd their Tents and Provisions from the Ships; and the Inhabitants of *Dunbar* being reduc'd to great Want, the General order'd a great Quantity

1650.

Retreats  
to Muscle-  
borough,

1650. tity of Pease, and Wheat to the Value of two hundred and forty Pounds, of that which was sent from London to the Army, to be distributed among the poor People there. After convenient Advances again to supply and Refreshment, and two Days spent in wards Exhortation to the Army, and in seeking God for Edinburgh. his Blessing upon their Actions, they again advanc'd towards Edinburgh; where the Scots were keeping a solemn Thanksgiving for their suppos'd great Deliverance, imagining the English Army was quite gone; and the Ministers gave God Thanks, for turning back the Army of Sectaries by the Way that they came, and putting Terror into their Hearts, which made them flee when none pursued. But the sudden Return of the Army to Muscleborough soon made them ashamed of what they had been doing: Tho' it seems, Lesley was not so confident, but expected another Visit from the English; for upon their Return, they found Muscleborough more forlorn than before, he having commanded, That the gude Women of the Town should ave come away with their Gear, and no any stay to brew or bake for the English Army, or pain of Death.

ABOUT this Time, a Trumpet came to the Army from Lieutenant-General David Lesley with a Declaration of the General Assembly containing the State of the Quarrel in which they were to fight; which they desir'd might be publickly known, and was to this Effect  
 " That the General Assembly considering the  
 " must be just Grounds of stumbling, from the  
 " King's Majesty's refusing to subscribe the Declara-  
 " tion concerning his former Carriage, and Resolu-  
 " tions for the future in Reference to the  
 " Cause of God, the Enemies and Friends thereof;  
 " doth therefore declare, That the King and Kingdom will not own any Malignant Party  
 " in their Quarrel or Interest, but they will

" fight upon their former Principles, for the 1650.  
" Cause of God and the Kingdom. And there-  
" fore as they disclaim all the Sin and Guilt of  
" the King and his House, so they will not own  
" him nor his Interest, any further than he shall  
" disclaim his and his Father's Opposition to  
" the Work of God, and the Enemies there-  
" of. And withal, they will with convenient  
" Speed consider of the Papers sent to them  
" from Oliver Cromwell, and vindicate them-  
" selves from the Falshoods contain'd therein."

To this the Lord-General thought fit to re-His An-  
turn them this Answer: " That the Army con- fwer to  
" tin'd the same they had profess'd themselves the gene-  
" to the honest People of Scotland, wishing to ral Assem-  
" them as to their own Souls; it being no Part bly's De-  
" of their Business to hinder them in the Wor- claration,  
" ship of God according to their Consciences,  
" as by his Word they ought: And that they  
" should be ready to perform what Obligation  
" lay upon them by the Covenant. But that under  
" the Pretence of the Covenant mistaken, a King  
" should be taken in by them, and imposed on  
" the English, and this call'd the Cause of God  
" and the Kingdom; and this done upon the Sa-  
" tisfaction of God's People in both Nations,  
" as alledg'd, together with a disowning of Ma-  
" lignants, altho' the Head of them be receiv'd,  
" who at this very Instant hath a Party fight-  
" ing in Ireland, and Prince Rupert at Sea on  
" a Malignant Account; the French and Irish  
" Ships daily making Depredations upon the  
" English Coasts, and all by virtue of his Com-  
" mission; therefore the Army cannot believe,  
" that whilst Malignants are fighting and plot-  
" ing against them on the one Side, the Scots de-  
" claring for him on the other, should not be  
" an espousing of a Malignant Interest or Quar-  
" rel, but a mere fighting on former Grounds  
" and

1650. " and Principles. If the State of the Quarrel be  
 thus, and you say you resolve to fight the Ar-  
 my, you will have Opportunity to do that;  
 else what means our abode here? And our hope  
 is in the Lord, &c."

*He en-*  
*camps on*  
*Penland*  
*Hills.* GENERAL Cromwell finding he could by no Means provoke the Scots to an Engagement, on the 17th of August march'd his Army from *Mus-cleborough*, and pitch'd his Tents on *Penland Hills*, within View of *Edinburgh*. In this March the Enemy drew forth several Bodies of Horse and fac'd the English, but came not within Gun-shot. The Army being quarter'd on the Hills, the Lord-General sent out two Troops of Dragoons to possess themselves of *Collington-House*. About this Time, a Serjeant in Colonel Cox's Regiment and three Soldiers his Associates, were sentenc'd to be hang'd for plundering a House and stealing a Cloak; which Sentence was executed on the Serjeant, for a Terror to others; but the other three were pardon'd. So careful was the General to preserve the Country, according to his Declaration.

ON the 18th, the Scots drew forth on the west Side of *Edinburgh*, between the River *Leith* and the Sea, to the Number of three thousand Horse, apprehending the English design'd to possess a Pass over the said River. The Lord-General seeing this, drew out a Forlorn, and went in Person before them, to shew how ready he was to fight. Being come near to their Body, one who knew the Lord-General fir'd a Carbine at him: Upon which, he call'd out and told him, *That if he had been one of his Soldiers he should have been cashier'd for firing at that Distance.* This was all that was done; for the Scots still having no Mind to fight, return'd back again to their Quarters. And the next Day Part of the English Army took the House of *Redhaugh*

*Redbaugh*, belonging to Sir James Hamilton. It was a Garrison situated within a Mile and a half of Edinburgh, and had about eighty Foot to defend it; and tho' the English storm'd it in the Sight of the Enemy's whole Army, yet no Party came out to relieve it. Threescore were taken Prisoners here; and the Place was of great Advantage to the English.

Takes  
*Redbaugh*.

ON the 26th of August, the Scots sent to General Cromwell, to desire a Conference between some of themselves and some of his Officers. This being agreed to, and a convenient Place appointed, the Lord Waristoun Secretary of State, Sir John Brown, Colonel Straughan, and Mr. Douglass a Minister, with some others, attended for that Purpose. The chief Design of this Conference, was to wipe off a pretended Asperion that was cast upon them, and spread over both Armies, as if they kept themselves in Trenches and Holes, not daring to fight. And therefore, the better to vindicate themselves from these Calumnies, they assur'd the English, " That " when Opportunity serv'd, it should be seen " that they wanted not Courage to give them " Battle."

THE next Morning the Scotch Army, as if Attends they design'd so soon to make good what they had the Moti- said, drew out upon a March; which the Lord ons of the General Cromwell no sooner observ'd, but he pre- my. my. par'd to meet them, hoping now to have some fair play with them. And the Soldiers also ex- pected the same thing, being overjoy'd at the very Thoughts of engaging; in order to which they immediately took down their Tents, laid aside their Knapsacks, and put themselves every way into a fit Posture to meet and receive their Enemy. But the Scots, it seems, had still no mind to come to an Engagement; for when the English Army drew near them, they found they were separated from

1650. from them, by a great Bog and a deep Ditch; so that they could not come at them to engage, without runing such Hazards as were not necessary at that time. All that the Lord-General could do for the present, was to thunder against them with his Cannon. Both Armies stood all that Night in Battalia; and the next Morning, the great Guns roar'd, on both Sides for about the space of an Hour; by which one and twenty of the English were kill'd or wounded, but many more of the Scots, who, for all that, would not remove to any other Ground to engage, nor join in a closer Fight.

Retreats  
to Pen-  
land.

UPON this, the Lord-General Cromwell march'd baek his Army to their former Quarters on Penland Hills; where they were no sooner arriv'd but they were inform'd, that the Scots had sent out a Party to take in Muscleborough and Prestonpans, thereby to cut off Provisions from the English Army. Hereupon the Lord-General gave Orders for the Army to march that Way; which they were very forward to do, as being to fight for their Viictuals. But it being a very stormy and tempestuous Night, and very dark, he stay'd their March till the next Morning; when

To Mus- they arriv'd at Muscleborough without any Moles- cleborough tation from the Enemy, who in the mean Time took Possession of what they had left behind them on Penland Hills; and then dogging them in the Rear, watch'd all Oportunities to distres them.

F. Orleans gives us this brief Account of these various Marches of the Lord-General Cromwell, in order to bring the Scots to an Engagement. "Cromwell, says he, whose Interest it was to "endeavour to come soon to a Battle, in a Coun- "try where his Army found nothing to subsist "on, march'd directly towards the Enemy, who "lay encamp'd between Edinburgh and Leith, to "cover those two Places, and the Heart of the

" Coun-

“Country. The cunning *Englishman* try’d all 1650.  
“Ways to draw *Lesley* to fight; but he under-  
“stood his Trade, and it being his Interest to  
“protract Time, so to ruin the Enemy’s Ar-  
“my, which had neither Ammunition nor Pro-  
“visions but what came from *England* at a great  
“Charge, and with much Difficulty, he kept  
“himself so strongly intrench’d, that *Cromwell*  
“durst not attack him. The *English* General us’d  
“all the Baits and Stratagems known in War, to  
“oblige the *Scot* to fight him; sometimes draw-  
“ing him towards *Dunbar*, as if he would have  
“besieg’d *Edinburgh*, and again moving to get  
“between *Sterling* and him. But the *Scot* dexterously avoided all these Snares; and tho’  
“the *English* Army kept up close with him, he  
“so order’d his Motions, and posted himself so  
“advantageously, that the whole Month of Au-  
“gust was spent in those Counter-marches, so  
“tedious to a Man of *Cromwell*’s Spirit, who  
“could never meet with an Opportunity either  
“to fight in open Field, or attack his Enemy in  
“his Camp.”

By this Means, and by frequent Skirmishes  
“d harassing the *English*, the *Scots* hop’d at last  
“tire them out, depending much upon the Dis-  
“agreeableness of the Climate to their Constitu-  
“tion, especially, if they should keep them in  
“the Field till Winter, which begins betimes in  
“those Parts. And their Counsels succeeded accor-  
“ing to their Wish; for by this Time the *En-*  
“*glish* Army, thro’ hard Duty, want of Provi-  
“(the Stores brought by Sea being now ex-  
“hausted) and the Rigour of the Season, grew  
“very sickly, and diminish’d daily; the *Scotch* Ar-  
“my in the mean Time increasing, and continuing  
“good Heart. The Lord-General reflecting  
“on the sad State of his Affairs, and consi-  
“dering the weak and crazy Condition of his Ar-  
“my,

1650. my, resolv'd in this Exigency to retreat with them once more to *Dunbar*. Authors differ as to the Design of this March; some thinking it was to receive further Supplies from the *English* Ships; others, that it was in order to return into *England*; and others again suppose, that the General intended, by garrisoning *Dunbar*, to lie there securely for some Time, till they might recover Strength, and receive convenient Recruits both of Horse and Foot from *Berwick*. The *Lord Clarendon* says, "Whether that March was to retire out of so barren a Country for want of Provisions, (which no doubt were very scarce; and the Season of the Year would not permit them to depend upon all necessary Supplies by Sea;) or whether that Motion was only to draw the *Scots* from the avaragious Post of which they were possess'd, is not yet understood." And *Bishop Burnet* tells us, That *Cromwell* being press'd by the *Scots* Army, retir'd to *Dunbar*, where his Ships and Provisions lay. This seems to be very true, and that *Cromwell* was then only on the Defensive but whether at his Departure from *Muscleborough* he had actually design'd to return into *England* does not appear so certain: Tho' *Ludlow* tells us, that when the Army came to *Dunbar*, they shipped their heavy Baggage and sick Men, and design'd to return into *England*; and others say that *Cromwell* wanting Provisions, was then shipping off his Foot and Cannon, designing only the next Day to break through with his Horse.

To *Haddington*.

WHATEVER the Lord-General's Design was, he, in pursuance of the foremention'd Resolution, on the 30th of *August*, drew out his Army from *Muscleborough*, and march'd toward *Haddington*. The *Scots* observing the *English* Army to retire, follow'd them close; and fall-

upon the Rear-Guard of Horse in the Night, 1650.  
having the Advantage of a clear Moon, beat  
them up to the Rear-Guard of Foot. Which  
Alarm, coming suddenly upon them, put them  
into some Disorder. But the *Scots*, as some say,  
wanting Courage to prosecute the Advantage,  
and withal, a Cloud overshadowing the Moon,  
gave the *English* an Opportunity to secure them-  
selves and recover the main Body. Being come  
to Haddington, where they were in continual Dan-  
ger of being assaulted by the Enemy, the Gene-  
ral order'd a strict Watch to be kept, to pre-  
vent the worst. The *Scots* conceiving they had  
now a more than ordinary Advantage, about  
Midnight attempted the *English* Quarters on the  
west End of the Town; but were soon repuls'd  
and set further off. The next Day, being the  
first of September, the *Scots* being drawn up at  
the west End of the Town in a very advantagi-  
ous Place, the *English* drew out on the East into  
an open Field, very fit for both Armies to en-  
gage in; where having waited some Hours for To Dun-  
bar. the coming of the *Scots*, and perceiving that they  
could not fight but upon an Advantage, they,  
 pursuant to their former Resolution, march'd a-  
way to Dunbar.

THE Scotch Army follow'd at a convenient Dis-  
tance, being reinforc'd with the Addition of three  
Regiments; and seeing the *English* lodg'd in Dun-  
bar, hover'd about them upon the adjacent Hills  
in a thick Cloud, menacing nothing but Ruin  
and Destru<sup>t</sup>ion, and looking down upon them as  
their sure Prey.

THE Lord-General was now in great Distress, Is in great  
look'd upon himself as undone. His Army Distress.  
was in a very weak and sickly Condition, and  
great Want of Provisions, whereby their Cou-  
rage also was very much abated; whilst the *Scots*  
were stout and hearty, in their own Country, and  
upon

1650. upon very advantagious Ground. And besides, they more than doubled the *English* in Number, being about twenty seven thousand, whereas the others were but twelve thousand. Some say they had in their Army about thirty thousand Horse and Foot; and the *English* were reduc'd to ten thousand at the most. General *Cromwell*, with this sickly Company, was now hemm'd in on every Side by those greater Numbers of his Enemies; who, to make sure Work, had also by a strong Party secur'd *Coberspath*, the only Pals between him and *Berwick*, thereby to hinder all Provisions or Relief from thence, or to cut off all Retreat from the *English* Army, who had not above three Days Forage for their Horses. Thus were they reduc'd to the utmost Straits, so that they had now no Way left, but either to yield themselves Prisoners, and tamely give up themselves a Prey to their insulting Enemies; or to fight upon those unequal Terms, and under those great Disadvantages.

Calls a  
Council  
of War.

IN this Extremity the Lord-General, on the 2d of September, call'd a Council of War, in which, after some Dispute, it was resolv'd to fall upon the Enemy the next Morning, about an Hour before Day; and accordingly the several Regiments were order'd to their respective Posts. Here we are told by Bishop *Burnet*, That *Cromwell*, under these pressing Difficulties, call'd his Officers together to seek the Lord, as they express'd it: After which, he bid all about him take Heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them. Then walking in the Earl of *Roxburgh's* Gardens, that lay under the Hill, and by prospective Glasses discerning a great Motion in the *Scotch* Camp; *Cromwell* thereupon said, God is delivering them into our Hands, they are coming down to us. And the Bishop says, that *Cromwell* lov'd to talk much

of that Matter all his Life long afterwards. The 1650.  
 Scots, it seems, had now at last resolv'd to fight  
 the English, and to that End were drawing down  
 the Hill, where, if they had continu'd, the English  
 could not have gone up to engage them  
 without very great Disadvantage. This Reso-  
 lution was contrary to *Lesley's* Opinion; who,  
 tho' he was in the chief Command, had a Com-  
 mittee of the States to give him his Orders,  
 among whom *Waristoun* was one. These being  
 weary of lying in the Fields, thought that *Les-  
 ley* did not make haste enough to destroy the  
 Army of the Sectaries, as they call'd them.  
*Lesley* on the other Hand told them, that by  
 lying there all was sure, but that by engaging  
 in Action with brave and desperate Men all might  
 be lost; and yet they still press'd him to fall on.  
 Many have imagin'd that there was Treachery  
 in all this; but the foremention'd Author says,  
 he was persuad'd there was no Treachery in it;  
 only *Waristoun* was too hot, and *Lesley* was too  
 cold, and yielded too easily to their Humours,  
 which he should not have done. This Resolu-  
 tion of the Scots, to fall upon the English, was for  
 some Time retarded by the Unseasonableness of  
 the Weather; and in the mean while, as we  
 have already observ'd, *Cromwell* resolv'd to fall  
 upon them.

THE Night before the Battle, proving dread-  
 fully rainy and tempestuous, the Lord-General  
 took more than ordinary Care of himself and his  
 Army. He refresh'd his Men in the Town, and  
 above all Things secur'd his Match-Locks against  
 the Weather, whilst his Enemies neglegeted theirs.  
 The Scots were all the Night employ'd in com-  
 ing down the Hill; and early in the Morning,  
 being Tuesday the third of September, before they  
 were put in Order, General *Cromwell* drew out a  
 strong Party of Horse, and falling upon the Horse-  
 Guards,

1650. Guards, made them retire. Then immediately his Bodies both of Horse and Foot advancing, the Fight soon grew hot on all Sides; till after about an Hour's Dispute, the whole numerous Army of the *Scots* was totally routed. Two Regiments stood their Ground, and were almost all kill'd in their Ranks. The rest fled, and were pursu'd as far as *Haddington* with great Execution. About four thousand were slain on the Place and in the Pursuit, and ten thousand taken Prisoners, many of whom were desperately wounded. Fifteen thousand Arms, all the Artillery and Ammunition, with above two hundred Colours were taken; and all with the loss of scarce three hundred *English*. Prisoners of note were Sir *James Lumdale* Lieutenant-General of the Foot, the Lord *Libberton* (who soon after dy'd of his Wounds,) Adjutant-General *Bicker ton*, Scout-Master *Campbel*, Sir *William Douglas*, the Lord *Grandison*, and Colonel *Gourdon*; besides twelve Lieutenant-Colonels, six Majors forty two Captains, seventy five Lieutenants &c. The two *Lesleys* escap'd to *Edinburgh*, which upon the News of this Defeat was immediately quitted by its Garrison, and *Leith* resolv'd to admit the Conquerors, being not able to keep them out. Thus this formidable Army, which had so lately triumph'd in a confident Assurance of Victory, was totally defeated and overthrown by one not half so numerous, which at the same Time was reduc'd almost to the last Extremity. But this Extremity making them fix upon so firm a Resolution either to conquer or die, and withal their falling so suddenly upon the *Scots*, when they so little expected them, but design'd first to fall upon them, seem to be a true Occasion of this wonderful Turn of Affairs. The Lord-General himself drew up a Narrat of this memorable Victory, and sent it by Cour

Courier to the Council of State, who order'd it 1650.  
to be read in all the Churches of London with  
solemn Thanksgiving: And the Colours taken in  
this Battle being sent up to the Parliament, were  
by their Order hung up as Trophies in *Westmin-  
ster-Hall.*



## C H A P. IV.

*From the Battle of Dunbar, to the Battle of  
Worcester.*

THIS great Success put new Life into the English Soldiers, who by this Means, after having been so long toss'd up and down, almost spent by hard Duty, and reduc'd to such Extremity, that they were in Danger of being starv'd, now met with good Accommodation and Refreshment, and had an Opportunity to furnish themselves with all necessary Supplies. Soon af- He takes  
ter the Battle was over, the Lord-General, the Possession  
letter to improve his Victory, and to secure <sup>of Edin-</sup><sub>burgh and Leith.</sub>  
that he had obtain'd, sent Lambert with a strong Party of Horse and Foot, to attempt Edinburgh, the chief City, and secure Leith, that the English Ships might there the more readily and conveniently supply the Army with all Necessaries. the Scots upon the News of their Army's Defeat, having deserted Edinburgh, Lambert on the same Day obtain'd a quiet Possession of it, as also of Leith; in both which Places were found several Pieces of Ordnance, many Arms, and a considerable Quantity of Provisions; which the Scots by Reason of their haste, could not carry away with them. But tho' the English had thus possess'd themselves of the Town of Edinburgh,

1650. the Castle still remain'd in the Hands of the  
 ~~~ Enemy; which, tho' judg'd impregnable, was at  
 last reduc'd by *Cromwell*; as we shall see in its  
 proper Place.

THE Lord-General staid some small Time at *Dunbar*, to settle Matters, and to dispose of the Prisoners; who being so numerous, that it seem'd as much Trouble to keep them as it was to take them, about five thousand of them, who were most sick and wounded, were set at Liberty; and the rest were driven like Turkies to *Berwick*, by the *English* Soldiers appointed to convey them thither. Soon after *Lambert* had taken Possession of *Edinburgh*, the Lord-General himself came up, and caus'd his whole Army to march into that City; which was done without any loss, save that one of the Soldiers had his Arm shot off by a Cannon-bullet from the Castle. And now all possible Diligence was us'd in fortifying *Leith*, it being judg'd to be the best and most commodious Sheltering-place the *English* could have in *Scotland*, for the Winer Season.

ON the Sunday after the Lord-General enter'd *Edinburgh*, he sent a Trumpet to the Castle, to acquaint the Governour, that the Ministers who were with him might return to the Churche and have free Liberty to preach there; but the Ministers return'd him this Answer, That they found nothing express'd, whereby to build any Security for their Persons; and for their Return, they resolv'd to reserve themselves for better Times, and to wait upon him who had bidd his Face for a while from the Sons of Jacob. General *Cromwell* reply'd in a Letter to the

His two Governors, as follows:

Letters to " OUR Kindness offer'd to the Ministers with the Go- " you was done with Ingenuity, thinking vernour of " have met with the like; but I am satisfy Edinburgh " Castle.

" to tell those with you, That if their Master's 1650.  
" Service (as they call it) were chiefly in their  
" Eye, Imagination of Suffering would not have  
" caus'd such a Return. Much less the Practi-  
" ces of our Party (as they are pleas'd to say)  
" upon the Ministers of *Christ* in *England*,  
" have been an Argument of personal Persecuti-  
" on. The Ministers of *England* are supported,  
" and have Liberty to preach the Gospel, tho'  
" not to rail; nor under Pretence thereof, to  
" over-top the civil Power, or debase it as they  
" please. No Man hath been troubled in *Eng-*  
" *land* or *Ireland* for preaching the Gospel, nor  
" has any Minister been molested in *Scotland*,  
" since the coming of the Army hither. The  
" speaking Truth becomes the Ministers of *Christ*.  
" When Ministers pretend to a glorious Refor-  
" mation, and lay the Foundation thereof in  
" getting to themselves Power, and can make  
" worldly Mixtures to accomplish the same, such  
" as their late Agreement with their King,  
" and Hopes by him to carry on their Designs,  
" they may know, that the *Sion* promised, and  
" hoped for, will not be built with such *untem-  
per'd Mortar*. And for the unjust Invasion  
" they mention, Time was when an Army of  
*Scotland* came into *England*, not call'd by the  
Supreme Authority. We have said in our Pa-  
pers, with what Hearts, and upon what Ac-  
count we came; and the Lord hath heard us,  
tho' you would not, upon as solemn an Ap-  
peal as any Experience can parallel. When  
they trust purely to the Sword of the Spi-  
rit, which is the *Word of God*, which is power-  
full to bring down strong Holds, and every  
Imagination that exalts it self, which alone  
is able to square and fit the Stones for the  
new *Jerusalem*; then, and not before, and  
N 4 " by

1650. " by that Means, and no other, shall *Jerusalem* (which is to be the Praise of the whole Earth) the City of the Lord be built, the *Sion* of the holy One of *Israel*. I have nothing to say to you, but that I am, Sir, your humble Servant, *O. Cromwell.*"

THE Scotch Ministers sent an Answer to this Letter, and General *Cromwell* another Letter in Answer to them; in which he says: " We look upon Ministers as Helpers of, not Lords over the Faith of God's People: I appeal to their Consciences, whether any denying their Doctrines, and dissenting, shall not incur the Censure of Sectary; and what is this but to deny Christians their Liberty, and assume the infallible Chair? Where do you find in Scripture, that Preaching is included in your Function? Tho' an Approbation from Men hath Order in it, and may do well, yet he that hath not a better than that, he hath none at all. I hope he that ascended up on high may give his Gifts to whom he please; and if those Gifts be the Seal of Mission, be not envious, tho' *Eldad* and *Medad* prophesy: You know who bids us covet earnestly the best Gifts, but chiefly that we may prophesy; which the Apostle explains there to be a speaking to Instruction, and Edification, and Comfort: which the Instructed, Edified, and Comforted can best tell the Energy and Effect of. If such Evidence be, I say again, Take Heed you envy not, for your own Sakes; lest you be guilty of a greater Fault than *Moses* was prov'd in *Joshua*, for envying for his Sake. Indeed you err thro' the Mistake of the Scriptures: Approbation is an Act of Convenience, in Respect of Order; not of Necessity to give Faculty to preach the Gospel. You

" pre

1650.

" pretended Fear lest Error should step in, is like  
" the Man that would keep all the Wine out  
" of the Country, lest Men should be drunk. It  
" will be found an unjust and unwise Jealousy, to  
" deny a Man the Liberty he hath by Nature,  
" upon a Supposition he may abuse it; when he  
" doth abuse it, judge." The Ministers still re-  
fusing to return to their Churches, the Lord-Ge-  
neral caus'd *English* Ministers to officiate in their  
Places.

ALL the chief Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, to-  
gether with the Committees of the Kirk and  
State, fled from thence to *Sterling*, where they  
endeavour'd to secure themselves as well as they  
could. Hither likewise resorted those who had es-  
p'd at *Dunbar*, and did what they could to piece  
up their shatter'd Army, that by a second En-  
counter they might endeavour to regain their lost  
credit: To which End Recruits were also rais'd  
the Committee of Estates; but it was thought  
to make some Change in the Officers, not on-  
ly in the inferior ones, but also in the great  
commanders: For old *Lesley*, Earl of *Leven*, was  
set aside with Dishonour, tho' *David Lesley* was  
continu'd.

BUT all these Methods signify'd but little, Several  
whilst the *Scots* were so divided among themselves, Parties in  
split into so many Parties and Factions. The  
King Party was that which was for the King  
Kirk; tho' these were again sub-divided in  
*Resolutioners* and *Protectors*. The *Resolutioners*  
were so call'd from their adhering to those  
olutions, which were pass'd by the Commit-  
tee of Estates, and the Commissioners of the  
Crown, "That those who had made Defection,  
had hitherto been too backward in the Work,  
ought to be admitted to make Profession of  
their Repentance; and then, after such Pro-  
fession made, might, in the present Extremi-  
ty,

1650. " ty, be admitted to defend and serve their  
~~~~~ " Country." Against these Resolutions some of  
those two Bodies protested; who together with  
those who adher'd to them, were call'd the  
Protestors. They alledg'd, " That to take in  
" Men of known Enmity to the Cause, was  
" sort of betraying it, because it was putting  
" in their Power to betray it; that to ad-  
" mit them to a Profession of Repentance, wa-  
" a Profanation and a mocking of God; fo-  
" that it was manifest, they were willing to com-  
" ply with those Terms, tho' against their Con-  
" science, only that they might get into the  
" Army; and that they could not expect the  
" Blessing of God upon an Army so constitu-  
" ed." They had a great Advantage over the  
others as to this Particular; for this mock Re-  
nitence was indeed a very scandalous Practice.  
These Proceedings gave Rise to another Fan-  
ton, which prevail'd chiefly in the Western Coun-  
ties; where a great many met, and form'd an  
Association apart, as well against the King as  
the Defection in the Kirk Party, as against the  
Army of Sectaries. These were call'd Remon-  
itors, from their publishing a Remonstrance  
against all the Proceedings in the late Treaty w/  
the King, when, as they said, it was visible by  
Commission he granted to James Graham (me-  
ing the Marquess of Montrose) that his Heir  
was not sincere; and when he took the Coven-  
nant, they had Reason to believe he did it w/ his  
a Resolution not to maintain it, since in  
whole Deportment and private Conversation,  
discover'd a secret Enmity to the Work of God.  
They imputed the shameful Defeat at Dunbar  
to their prevaricating in these Things: And  
cluded, " That therefore, according to the  
claration of Kirk and State, August 13. 1650.  
they disclaim'd all the Sin and Guilt of it, an-

" King and his House, both old and new; 1650.  
" and that they could not own him nor his  
" Interest in the State of the Quarrel betwixt  
" them and the Enemy, against whom they  
" were to hazard their Lives." The chief Lea-  
ders of this Party were Colonel *Ker* and Colo-  
nel *Straughan*. Their Remonstrance, being brought  
to the Committee of Estates at *Sterling*, was af-  
ter much Debate condemn'd as divisive, factious,  
and scandalous; in which also the Commissioners  
of the Kirk concurr'd; but so nevertheless as,  
possible, to bring *Ker* and his Party over by  
fair Means; to which Purpose, several Papers  
was'd between them, and all Methods were us'd  
to heal these Divisions. Besides these, there  
was another Party in the North, who were pure-  
for the King, without any Regard to the  
Kirk.

WHILST the *Scots* were thus divided among Various  
emselves, and their Animosities grew higher Motions  
and higher, the Lord-General *Cromwell* was ac- of the  
e with his victorious Forces, which rang'd Lord-Ge-  
Pleasure about the Country. Having his Head-Cromwell.  
quarters at *Edinburgh*, and having there given  
Men all necessary Refreshment, he drew out  
the greatest Part of his Army for *Sterling*, and  
with them fac'd the Castle, having at first some  
sign to storm it; but perceiving the Horse could  
not well second the Foot, he chang'd his Reso-  
lution, and return'd back to *Edinburgh*. Whi-  
ever being arrived, he order'd all the Boats in  
*Frith* to be carry'd to *Leith*, to prevent the  
ferrying over into *Fife* in order to join with  
the Enemy there.

IN the mean Time Preparations were making  
the Siege of *Edinburgh* Castle; in which the  
Lord-General having given the necessary Orders  
Directions, march'd away six Regiments of  
Foot, and nine of Horse and Dragoons, for  
Glas-

1650. Glasgow; and by the Way of Linlithgow, sent a Paper to the Committee of Estates, to try once more what might be effected by fair Means; a Copy of which was also at the same Time sent to Colonel Ker and Straughan, for the same Purpose. There was little else remarkable in this Expedition, but the taking of a small Garrison near Kelsith: And it may be remembred, that when the English came to Glasgow, and saw one of the Legs of the late Marques of Montrose hanging over the Gate, they rememb'ring his valiant Actions, took it down and buried it privately.

THE Season now admitting of no considerable Action, the Lord-General return'd again to Edinburgh; where he publish'd a Proclamation against a Company of sturdy Fellows, call'd Moss-Troopers, who very much molested the Army and by the Treachery and Connivance of the Country People, kill'd many of the English Soldiers, and grew so bold as to steal some of the Train Horses. The Proclamation was to the

**He pub- lisches a Proclama- tion a- gainst the Moss-Troo- pers.** Effect: " That finding many of the Army were  
 " not only spoil'd and robb'd, but also other  
 " barbarously butchered and slain, by a Company  
 " of Out-laws, not under the Discipline of  
 " any Army; and finding that all Tenderness  
 " the Country produc'd no other Effect, than  
 " their Compliance with, and Protection of such  
 " Persons: Therefore considering that it is  
 " the Country's Power to detect and discover  
 " them; and perceiving their Motion to be ordinarily by the Invitation and Intelligence  
 " Country People; he declar'd, That whenever  
 " ever these Enormities should be committed  
 " the future, Life should be requir'd for Life,  
 " and a plenary Satisfaction for the Goods  
 " stoln, of those Parishes and Places where the same  
 " F

"Fact should be committed, unless they did dis-  
"cover and produce the Offender."

1650.

SOON after this Proclamation was publish'd, <sup>Monk re-</sup>  
Colonel *Monk*, with a commanded Party of Foot, <sup>duces</sup>  
four Pieces of Ordnance, and a Mortar-piece, <sup>Derling-</sup>  
was sent to reduce *Derlington-House*, one of the <sup>ton-House</sup>  
Nests of these *Moss-Troopers*; which, being join'd  
by *Lambert*, he soon effected, taking all that were  
within Prisoners; whereof two of the most no-  
torious with their Captain, one *Waite*, were  
re-sently shot to Death. After this, *Monk* tak- <sup>And R</sup>  
ng with him a Party of six hundred Foot, march'd <sup>lan Castle.</sup>  
against *Roslan-Castle*; where tho' at first he met  
with some Resistance, it was quickly surrender'd  
to him.

THE Lord-General, who would not let slip  
any Opportunity, made what use he could of  
the Differences and Dissensions that were in *Scot-  
land*, and endeavour'd to improve them to his  
own Advantage. To this End, he sent several  
Times to *Ker* and *Straughan* in the West to in-  
cite them to come in to him. This had that  
good Effect, that *Straughan* shortly after with-  
drew himself from his Party, and clos'd with  
the *English*, leaving *Ker* to command all himself.  
The Lord-General still endeavour'd to draw him  
over, but all in vain; and having an especial  
Care upon this Party, since he could not prevail  
by fair Means, he resolv'd, notwithstanding the  
difficulty of marching at that Time of the  
Year, to endeavour to reduce them by Force.

Accordingly, about the End of November, he <sup>Victory o-</sup>  
order'd Major-General *Lambert*, and Commissary-<sup>ver Ker</sup>  
General *Whalley*, with five Regiments of Horse, <sup>and his</sup>  
march from *Peebles* to *Hamilton*, on the South <sup>Party in</sup>  
<sup>the West.</sup> Side of the River *Clyde*; whilst himself march'd  
to *Edinburgh* on the North Side. Having staid  
some small Time, till he had good Intelli-  
gence where *Lambert* and his Party were; and  
withal,

1650. withal, the Weather being very bad, he march'd back again to Edinburgh. Ker having Notice of this, as also that Lambert was at Hamilton thought he had now an Opportunity to surprize him: And accordingly setting upon a sudden March in the Night, with about fifteen hundred Horse, he before Day with great Fury broke into Lambert's Quarters; and meeting with Resistance at his first Entry, he confidently march'd up to the middle of the Town. But a Captain with about forty Soldiers having upon the Alarm suddenly mounted, and being favour'd by a Tree that lay cross the Street, obstructed their March till the whole Garrison was alarm'd. The suddenness of this Attempt put the English into some Surprize; but soon recovering themselves, they to make sure Work of it, left Part of their Forces in the Town, to encounter the Enemy, and to secure the Road whilst the rest drew out with Design to surround the Enemy's whole Party; who, perceiving the in Time, very dexterously fac'd about and took themselves to Flight. In this Encounter which was but short, near a hundred of the Scots were slain, and as many made Prisoners. Ker himself was wounded and taken, with his Lieutenant Colonel and Captain-Lieutenant. Those who were pursu'd as far as *Air*, where a Party of hundred and fifty, being the chief Remains of the *Remonstrators*, were also put to the Rout. The Success was the more considerable, in that it would have been very difficult to have engaged them against their Will; for they being well acquainted with the Country, and having the habitants on their side, could march about as they pleas'd; whereas 'twould have been very dangerous for the English to have follow'd them with a great Part of their Army; *Leyley* then ly-

at Sterling with the Scotch Forces, watching all  
Advantages. 1650.

THIS seasonable Victory was soon follow'd by The Siege  
the Surrender of Edinburgh Castle, the most con-<sup>of Edin-</sup>  
siderable Strong-hold in Scotland, which was <sup>burgh Ca-</sup>  
thought impregnable by Situation and Art. It  
is seated upon a high abrupt Rock, has but  
one Entrance into it, and that both steep, and by  
which but two or three can go a-breast, and o-  
verlooks and commands all Places about it; so  
that the Lord-General's Men were often very  
much gall'd in their Quarters at Edinburgh, by  
the great Guns playing from thence.

WHEN General Cromwell came first before this  
strong Place, which was soon after the Defeat at  
unbar, he summon'd the Gouvernour, Colonel Wil-  
liam Dundass, to deliver it up to him; which ha-  
ving no Effect, he began to consult with his chief  
Officers how to reduce it by Force. Nothing  
wou'd to encourage the attempting of it by  
Storm; and all probable Ways being debated, it  
was at last resolv'd, to force it by Mines.  
order to this Work, both English and Scotch  
Miners were sent for, and towards the latter  
end of September, the Galleries were begun in  
Night; which the besieged no sooner saw,  
they fell to firing upon it with five great  
Mines, and several Vollies of small shot. But this  
wou'd no Impediment to the English, who with  
unwearied Labour wrought thro' the Earth,  
they came to the main Rock. This put them  
to Stand, but did not make them give over;  
having contriv'd Ways to make Holes in the  
Rock, they fill'd them full of Powder, and en-  
cour'd to make it fly by firing.  
But this mining Work going but slowly on,  
Lord General fearing it would not answer  
Design, and that he should not be able to  
raise the Castle up into the Air, endeavour'd

1650. now to level it with the Ground; and to that End, with mighty Labour and Pains, he rais'd a Battery fortify'd with Gabions and other Contrivances, designing to play incessantly from thence with Cannons and Mortars. The Governour was very much amaz'd at this, who now began to think it a vain Thing to endeavour to withstand the English Industry; tho' it must be said of him, that he did his utmost to answer the Expectations of those by whom he was entrusted with this important Charge. The Battery, notwithstanding all Obstructions, being rais'd to a convenient Height, four Mortar-Pieces and six battering Guns were drawn from Leith, and forthwith mounted against the Castle. But before the Word of Command was given, the Lord General thought fit once more to summon the Governour; which he did on the 11<sup>th</sup> of December, in the following Terms; " That he being resolv'd by God's Assistance to use such Means as were put into his Hands, for the reducing of the Castle, did, for preventing further Misery, demand the rendring of the Place to him upon fit Conditions." To this the Governour return'd this Answer, " That being entrusted by the Committee of Estates of Scotland, for the keeping of the Castle, he could not deliver it up without leave from them. And therefore he desir'd ten Days Time to send to them and receive their Answer; upon Receipt whereof the General should receive his resolute Answer." But the Lord-General, knowing his Time was precious, made this sudden Reply, " That it concern'd not him to know the Obligations of them that trusted it to him; but that he might have honourable Terms for himself, and those that were with him. But he could not give Liberty to him to consult with the Committee of Estates, because

" he heard those among them that were honest,  
" enjoy'd not Satisfaction, and the rest were now  
" discover'd to seek another Interest than they  
" had formerly pretended to; in which, if  
" he desir'd to be satisfy'd, he might have In-  
" formation at a nearer Distance than St. John's-  
" town."

'TWAS design'd, that this Parley should continue till ten in the Morning, December 13. but some great Shot flying from the Castle the Night before, Order was given the next Morning to try the Mortar-pieces, three with Shells, and the fourth with Stones. Which being done accordingly, the Governour thereupon return'd an Answer to the General's last Message; in which " He adjur'd him in the Fear and Name of the living God, (which was call'd upon in the Acceptance of his great Trust) that Liberty might be granted for him to send to the Committee of Estates; and said, that he would be very willing to receive Information from those of his Country-Men whom he could trust." To this the Lord-general reply'd, " That whosoever he would appoint to come to him, should have Liberty for one Hour; but to send to the Committee of Estates, he could not grant." The Governour took no Notice of this, till the Mortar-pieces and great Guns had for some small time play'd with great Violence against the Castle. This mov'd him to send forth a Drum, firing a Conference with the Provost of Aberystwyth, and one more then in Edinburgh; to which General readily consented: But they knowing it to be an Affair of the utmost Importance, absolutely refus'd to concern themselves in it, leaving the Governour to take his own Course. Upon Dundas was in great Perplexity, and w<sup>t</sup> not well what to do; till having revolv'd

1650. the Matter a little in his Mind, he at last  
 came to this Result, to acquit himself manfully in the Defence of the Place. Accordingly a red Ensign was immediately hung out in Defiance on the top of the Castle, and the great Guns began to roar from the Battlements of the Wall. Upon this, the Lord-General thought it high Time for him to exert his utmost Force; and accordingly sent in upon them such continued Showers of Shot, that the Governour in a short Time thought fit to beat a Parley, and offer'd to surrender, if his former Request, of sending to the Committee of Estates, might be granted. But this being still refus'd, Dundee and his Soldiers thought it not good to hold out any longer against such violent Assaults; and so entring upon a Treaty with the Lord-General, came to an Agreement upon these Article

'Tis sur-  
 render'd  
 to Crom-  
 well.  
 "First, That the Castle of Edinburgh, the Can-  
 non, Arms, Ammunition, Magazines, and Fu-  
 niture of War, be deliver'd up to the Lord  
 General Cromwell. Secondly, That the Sol-  
 diers have Liberty to carry away their publick  
 Registers, publick Moveables, private Evi-  
 dences and Writs, into Fife or Sterling. Thirdly,  
 That as to those Goods in the Castle belong-  
 ing to any Person whatsoever, the Owners  
 should have them restor'd to them: This  
 to be proclaim'd, that all might take Notice  
 of it. Fourthly, That the Governour, and  
 military Officers, and Soldiers, might depart  
 without Molestation, carrying their Arms  
 Baggage, with Drums beating and Colo-  
 nels flying, to Bruntisland in Fife: Moreover,  
 sick and wounded Soldiers to stay in Edin-  
 burgh till cured, and then to receive the same  
 Benefit of Articles with the rest of the  
 Fellows."

1650.

ACCORDING to these Articles, this strong Castle, which glori'd in its Virginity, as having never before yielded to any Conqueror, was after a Siege of three Months, deliver'd up to the victorious *Cromwell* on the 24<sup>th</sup> Day of December; whereby there also fell into his Hands sixty three Pieces of Ordnance, some of them remarkable both for Size and Beauty, eight thousand Arms, fourscore Barrels of Powder, and all the King's Hangings, Tapestry and Jewels. The subduing of this Place was a Thing so unexpected by several, that the *Scots* cry'd out, *that Cromwell took it only by Silver Bullets.* But what appear'd most strange to others, and which made well on General *Cromwell's* side, was, That the *Scotch Army*, which lay not very far off, could never attempt the Relief of this most portant Place.

THE main Business the *Scots* were now in-  
t upon, was the Coronation of the King; <sup>The King  
crown'd  
at Scone.</sup> which had been long delay'd by the Kirk and Estates, that he might have Time to *bumble  
self for his Father's Sins and his own Trans-  
gressions.* But the vigorous Proceedings of the English put them at last upon hastening that which many of themselves were backward enough in. The first of January was appointed for this Solemnity; which was perform'd at *Scone*, with greatest Pomp and Magnificence that the present State of the Nation was capable of. His Majesty having subscrib'd both the Covenants, Marquess of *Argyle* set the Crown upon Head; at which the People express'd their approbation by their loud Acclamations of *God save  
Charles the Second.* The main Design now was to form such an Army, as might not only serve what they had still in their Hands, but drive the *English* (whom they now call'd the common Enemy) quite out of their Country.

1650. To effect this, all Persons were now promiscuously admitted into the Army, Commissions were granted for raising Horse and Foot, and new Commanders were appointed. His Majesty set up his Royal Standard at Aberdeen, to which great Numbers of Volunteers and honorary Soldiers flock'd from all Parts. From thence he march'd to Sterling; where having muster'd his Army, he made Duke Hamilton his Lieutenant-General, David Lesley Major-General, Middleton Major-General of the Horse, and Massy General of the English Troops.

Colonel  
Fenwick  
reduces  
Hume Ca-  
stle.

THE Lord-General Cromwell observing the Proceedings, was very little concern'd at them. However, to make sure Work, he endeavour'd to possess himself of all those Garrisons of the Scots, which were on the south side of the Firth. To this End, he order'd Colonel Fenwick with his own Regiment, and Colonel Syler's, to reduce Hume Castle under his Obedience. Fenwick immediately upon his receiving these Orders apply'd himself accordingly to the Work; and having drawn his Men up before the Castle sent a Summons to the Governour, as follow:

" His Excellency, the Lord-General Cromwell hath commanded me to reduce this Castle, which now posses, under his Obedience; which you now deliver into my Hands, for his Service, you shall have Terms for your self and those with you: If you refuse, I doubt not but in a short Time, by God's Assistance, obtain what I now demand. I expect your Answer by seven of the Clock to morrow Morning, and rest your Servant, George Fenwick."

THE Governour whose Name was Cockburn being, as it seems, a Man of Fancy, return'd him this quibbling Answer: " Right honourable, I have receiv'd a Trumpeter of yo-

1650.

"as he tells me, without a Pass, to surrender  
 "Hume Castle to the Lord-General *Cromwell*: *~~~~~*  
 "Please you, I never saw your General. As  
 "for Hume Castle, it stands upon a Rock. Gi-  
 "ven at Hume Castle this Day before seven a  
 "Clock. So resteth, without Prejudice to my  
 "native Country, your most humble Servant,  
 "Th. Cockburn." And soon after he sent the  
 Colonel these Verses:

*I William of the Waſſle  
 Am now in my Caſtle:  
 And awe the Dogs in the Town  
 Shan't gar me gang down.*

BUT the Governour did not long continue in this merry Humour: For Fenwick having planted a Battery against the Castle, and made a small Breach, as the *English* were just ready to enter, *Cockburn* beat a Parley. But the Colonel would now allow only Quarter for Life; which being accepted, the Governour with his Garrison, being seventy eight Commanders and private Soldiers, march'd out of the Castle; which Captain *Collinson* with his Company immediately enter'd, to keep it for the Parliament.

COLONEL *Monk* was also detatch'd with a-Colonel out three Regiments of Horse and Foot, to re-<sup>Monk re-</sup>duce *Tantallon* Castle. Being come before it, he <sup>duces</sup> *Tantallon* Castle. found the *Scots* very refractory, whereupon he caus'd the Mortar-pieces to play for eight and forty Hours: But these did little Execution; all six battering Guns being planted, were so well manag'd, that the Governour and those that were with him were forc'd to submit to Mercy.

1651.  
 Proceedings of the King and his Party.

THE King having now got some Authority, visited all the Garrisons in *Fife*, and endeavour'd to put them into such a Posture as to hinder the English from landing on that Side the *Frith*. To this End also he drew from *Sterling* such Horse and Foot as could be well spar'd, and quarter'd them all along the Water-side. Then he visited the Highlanders, endeavouring to compose the Dissentions that were amongst them, and to prevail on them to rise unanimously for him. *Middleton* marched out of these Parts with a considerable Body of Horse and Foot: And about the same Time, the Town of *Dundee*, as a Testimony of their great Respect to the King, and to shew their Forwardness in promoting his Interest, advanced at their own Charge a compleat well armed Regiment of Horse, whom they sent with a stately Tent, and six Field Pieces with Carriages and Ammunition, as a Present to his Majesty then at *Sterling*; where all being join'd made up an Army of twenty thousand Men. Endeavours were still used for augmenting the Army; for which Purpose, the Earl of *Egerton*, with some other Commanders, was sent to the *West*, to raise what Forces they could. These coming to *Dumbarton* to execute the Commissions, were suddenly surpriz'd by a Part of Horse sent thither by Colonel *Lilburn*, for that Purpose; who took the Earl himself, his Son Colonel *Montgomery*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Camburn*, &c. and brought them Prisoners to *Edinburgh*.

Great care of the Parliament in providing Supplies for the Army.

IN the mean time, the Parliament of England had a special Regard to their Army in Scotland, providing for their Welfare in all Respects. They took Care to procure sufficient Supplies both of Men, Money and Provisions, which were continually fending away to them; so that never was any Army better provided for than

this, as no Soldiers ever deserv'd better Encouragement than these. Particularly, Admiral *Dean* arrived about this Time at *Leith* with large Supplies from *London*; and amongst other Conveniences, brought along with him seven and twenty great flat-bottom'd Boats, for transporting the Army over into *Fife*. And not long after, Captain *Butler* arriv'd at the same Place in the *Success* (a stout Ship formerly taken from the *French*) with eighty thousand Pounds for the Payment of the Soldiers.

THE Lord General *Cromwell* had for some Time labour'd under a very great Indisposition, occasioned by the unsuitableness of the Climate, and the extreme Rigour of the Winter Season in those Parts. This confin'd him wholly to his Chamber, and utterly disabled him to act in Person with the Army, how great Occasion soever there might be. Now was the *English* Army under very sad Apprehensions; and yet they were not so much dejected and disheartned, as the *Scots* were elevated and transported at this News; who highly pleased themselves with the very Fancy of his Death; and thereupon readily believ'd the lightest Report of it to be true; and when once the Conceit had possess'd them, could scarce by any Means be brought to believe the contrary; so that a *Scotch* Trumpeter coming out of *Fife* to *Edinburgh*, about the Restoration of a Ship which the *English* had taken, very confidently affirm'd to the Soldiers, that their General was dead; and said, they did well to conceal it, but all the World should not make him believe otherwise. This coming to the General's Ear, who was now in a very fair Way of Recovery, to convince the Man of his Mistake, he ordered him to be brought before him. And the Conceit was so strongly fix'd in him, that nothing but this could have removed it. However, being now effectually

1651. ly convinc'd, he at his Return assur'd those who  
 sent him of the Falsity of this Report, which  
 had pass'd so currently in the Scotch Army. Af-  
 ter the Lord-General had been somewhat re-  
 cover'd, he fell into a very dangerous Relapse,  
 which, if he had not been of an extraordinary  
 strong Constitution, might have ended his Days.  
 But the Rulers in *England* very much fearing  
 the Loss of their General, as knowing no Man  
 so fit for that high Employment, first of all sent  
 him two eminent Physicians, Dr. *Wright* and Dr.  
*Bates*; and presently after, dispatch'd an Order  
 into *Scotland*, permitting him to leave the Busi-  
 ness of the Army, and repair into *England*, for  
 the Recovery of his Health and Strength, as  
 thinking the Air of *Scotland* might be the Oc-  
 casion of his Illness. Upon the Receipt of this,  
 he wrote a Letter to the Lord President of the  
 Council of State, dated June 3d, in which there  
 are several odd Expressions; which, whether they  
 were the Effect of *Cromwell's* real Enthusiasm, or  
 of Design, because the Humour of the Times ran  
 very much that Way, I shall not determine. The  
 Letter was as follows:

His Let-  
ter to the  
Council  
of State.

" My Lord, I have receiv'd yours of the  
 " 27th of May, with an Order of Parliament for  
 " my Liberty to return into *England*, for chang-  
 " ing of Air, that thereby I might the better re-  
 " cover my Health: All which came unto me  
 " whilst Dr. *Wright* and Dr. *Bates*, whom your  
 " Lordship sent down, were with me. I sha-  
 " not need to repeat the Extremity of my la-  
 " Sickness: It was so violent, that indeed my  
 " Nature was not able to bear the Weight there-  
 " of; but the Lord was pleased to deliver me  
 " beyond Expectation, and to give me Cause to fa-  
 " once more, *He hath plucked me out of the Grave*.  
 " My Lord, the Indulgence of the Parliamen-  
 " tary express'd by their Order, is a very high an-

" und

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" undeserved Favour ; of which, altho' it be fit I  
" keep a thankful Remembrance ; yet I judge it  
" would be too much Presumption in me not to  
" return a particular Acknowledgment. I beseech  
" you, give me the Boldness to return my hum-  
" ble Thankfulness to the Council, for sending  
" two such worthy Persons so great a Journey to  
" visit me ; from whom I have received much  
" Encouragement and good Direction for Recove-  
" ry of Health and Strength, which I find, by  
" the Goodness of God, growing towards such a  
" State, as may yet, if it be his good Will, ren-  
" der me useful according to my poor Ability,  
in the Station wherein he hath set me. I wish  
more Steadiness in your Affairs here, than to  
depend in the least upon so frail a Thing as I  
am : Indeed they do not, nor own any Instru-  
ment. *This Cause is of God, and it must prosper.*  
Oh ! that all that have any Hand therein,  
being so persuaded, would gird up the Loins  
of their Minds, and endeavour in all Things  
to walk worthy of the Lord. So prays, my  
Lord, your most humble Servant, *O. Crom-  
well.*

ABOUT this Time a Plot was discover'd in A Presby-  
*ngland*, which had been carried on by the Pres-  
terian Party, and chiefly by the Ministers of <sup>Plot.</sup>  
at Persuasion, in order to promote the Designs  
their *Scottish* Brethren, and help forward his  
Majesty's Restoration to the *English* Throne, as  
King under sufficient Limitations, and now in  
covenant with them. For this Mr. *Love*, Mr.  
*Jenkins*, Mr. *Cafe*, and Mr. *Drake*, very eminent  
Presbyterian Divines, besides some others of the  
city, were apprehended by Order of the Coun-  
of State. *Jenkins*, *Cafe* and *Drake* confess'd  
themselves guilty, and, that the Party might not be  
much irritated, were upon their humble Sub-  
mission pardon'd. But *Love*, as being more guilty  
than

1651. than any of the rest, was, together with one Gibbons, beheaded on Tower-Hill, on the 22d of ~~Aug~~  
 For which ~~gust~~ Love is executed. He was condemn'd on July 5, and the Day of Execution was appointed to be on the 15th before which Time many Petitions were presented from himself and his Friends to the Parliament for saving his Life, but to no Purpose ; till on the very Day that was appointed for his Execution, several Ministers, in and about London, came to the House, " Praying earnestly, and in the Bowels of Jesus Christ, who, when they were Sinners, died for them, if not totally to spare the Life of their dear Brother, that yet they would say of him as Solomon of Abiathar, That at this Time he shall not be put to Death." Upon this he was reprieve'd for one Month; during which Time, all possible Solicitations were used to those in Power, and particular Application was made to the Lord-General Cromwell in Scotland, who sent back a Letter signifying his Consent to the Pardon of him : But some Cavaliers stopping the Post-Boy, and searching his Packet, with great Indignation, tore the Lord-General's Letter, that concern'd Mr. Love, thinking he deserv'd not to live, who had been found an Incendiary in the Treaty at Uxbridge. And so the Parliament and Council of State hearing nothing from the General, they took it for granted that his Silence was design'd as an absolute Denial ; upon which Love was executed on the aforesaid Day.

The General prepares for Action.

GENERAL Cromwell was no sooner able to be abroad, but with eager Desire of Action, he consulted with his chief Officers to carry on a War. For this Purpose, it was thought proper to contract their Quarters by drawing in the Old Guards, or petty Garrisons, which were of little Use, and were often very much molested by the Scots. And now the Army being thus drawn

get

gether into one Body, were supply'd with thirty three Waggons and Carriages for the Train from Berwick ; and all Things being in Readiness for the Campaign, the Lord-General, on June 24th, order'd the Army to advance to *Redhaugh*, where they staid not long, but marched from thence to *Penland Hills*, a Place well known to the *English*. Here they encamp'd in a most comely and regular Order ; and the Lord-General feasted his Officers in his Tent, with several of their Ladies, as the Lady *Lambert*, and Major-General *Dean's* Lady, and many other *English* Gentlewomen, who came from *Leith* to see the Soldiers in their Tents.

THE Army having continued some small Time in this Posture, the Lord-General, in Order to carry on the present Design, march'd them away to *Newbridge*, and from thence to *Lithgow*; where from the Battlements of the Castle, they could discern the Tents of the *Scotch* Army, which lay encamp'd at *Torwood* near *Sterling*; where they were guarded with regular Fortifications, the Horse in great Bodies lying about them for Security, who were also fenced with a River and Bogs ; so that the *English* could not possibly drive them out of this Fastness. However, the Lord-General, to try whether he could provoke them to come and fight, march'd his Army in Battalia so near their main Body, that their Tents might be perfectly seen; and so stood the Space of eight Hours waiting for the coming of the *Scots*; who thinking it better to run out Time, than to put all to the Hazard of Battle, would not come out to engage. Hereon, the Lord-General drew off his Army to *Lithgow*, where having somewhat refreshed his wearied Men, he marched them back again ; and understanding that the *Scots* had remov'd their Camp to *Kelso*, he wheel'd about, and shortly after

1651. after quarter'd his Army at *Monks-land*, within four Miles of the Enemy. But they still refus'd to engage, and the General could not attack them without the greatest Hazard.

*He takes  
Calendar-  
House.*

THIS so provoked him, that he resolv'd to fall upon Part of their Forces, that defended *Calendar-House*. And so on the 15th of July, he ordered two battering Guns to be planted, which having play'd with great Violence for about eight Hours, at last beat down the Walls in several Places. Notwithstanding which, the Governour expecting Relief from the *Scotch* Army, which lay in Sight of him, resolv'd to hold out to the utmost. Upon which, the Lord-General sent ten Files out of every Regiment, to force them out, since they could not be prevailed on to submit. These brave Fellows having provided themselves with Faggots, presently unloaded themselves into the Enemy's Moat, and so springing over into the Breach, in half an Hour's Time wholly possessed themselves of the House, having slain the Governour with sixty two of his Men. The *Scotch* Army all this While look'd on, and as they were not at all concern'd in the Matter did not send one Hand to the Relief of the Friends.

THE Lord-General finding that he could by means provoke the *Scots* to a Battle, resolv'd now to bid fair for *Fife*, that thereby he might cut off those Supplies from them, that enabled them to protract Time and prolong the War. Accordingly, immediately after the taking of *Calendar-House*, the valiant Colonel *Overton*, with six hundred Foot and four Troops of Horse, put out into the *Forth*, being order'd to land at the *North-Ferry* in *Fife*; which he did in Spight those Showers of great and small Shot, that were pour'd upon him as he approach'd the Shoal in Return to which he caused his Men to

upon them out of the Boats ; which they did with 1651.  
so much Courage and Bravery, that the *Scots* were enforc'd to break off the Dispute, and betake themselves to Flight, leaving behind them part of their Arms and Artillery. In the mean Time, General *Cromwell* kept close up to the *Scots* with the main Body of his Army, intending to fall upon their Rear, in case they mov'd to disturb this Enterprize. However, the King sent Major-General *Brown* and Colonel *Holborn* with four thousand Men, to force the Enemy out of *Fife* again ; but before they could come up to them, *Lambert* and *Okey* pass'd over the *Forth* with two Regiments of Horse and two of Foot, and join'd with *Overton*. And so the *English* with this unexpect-  
The Battle of Fife.  
ed Reinforcement falling upon *Brown* and *Holborn*, entirely defeated them, killing two thousand upon the Spot, and taking Prisoners Major-General *Brown* himself, one Colonel, one Lieutenant-Colonel, one Major, thirteen Captains, seventeen Lieutenants, twenty-nine Ensigns, five Quarter-Masters, six and twenty Serjeants, five and twenty Corporals, and above twelve hundred Common Soldiers, with two and forty Colours of Horse and Foot. *Brown* being thus defeated and reduc'd to the Condition of a Prisoner, liv'd not long after ; dying, as was thought, of very Grief for this sad Disaster. Thus the *English* got sure footing on the other side of the *Frith* ; and this Overthrow prov'd the Bane of the *Scotch* Affairs.

SOON after this Blow, the *English* took in Ga-  
The Fort  
risoners almost as fast as they approach'd them. of *Innes-*  
*Lambert*, in the first Place, came before a strong *garry* taken  
Fort call'd *Innes-gary*, situated in an *Isle* lying in  
the *Frith*, betwixt *Queen's-Ferry* and the Pass into  
*Fife*. The Garrison here was so terrify'd at the  
News of the late Overthrow, that being summon'd  
by *Lambert*, they were content to march away  
with only their Swords by their Sides, and  
deliver

1651. deliver up the Fort, with all the Arms, Ammunition and Provisions, and sixteen Pieces of Ordnance, to the English. About this time, a Minister and two Students came from Angus to the Lord-General Cromwell for Protection : One of them was excommunicated for not answering the two following Questions : 1. Whether Presbyterian Government in Scotland be not in all things conform to the Word of God. 2. Whether Cromwell be not Antichristian ?

General  
Cromwell  
follows  
the Scotch  
Army.

THE News of the Defeat in Fife being brought to the King, who still lay strongly encamp'd in Torwood, occasion'd so great a Consternation in his Army, that with great precipitation he decamp'd, and march'd into Sterling-Park. General Cromwell follow'd speedily after them in the Rear, and marching over the Ground where they so lately lay, he perceiv'd with what a pannic Fear they had been seiz'd : For they had left behind them all their sick Men, one Barrel of Powder, three of Ball, a great deal of Match, many Muskets, and three Barrels of Hand-Grenadoes. The Lord-General followed them within two Miles of Sterling, endeavouring to provoke them to an Engagement, but all in vain, they making all the haste they could to secure themselves. Hereupon the General, perceiving it was to no purpose to continue here, on the 22d of July march'd away his Army to Lithgow ; from whence he caus'd the greatest Part of them to be transported over into Fife, with the Train of Artillery, in order to carry on the War on the other Side of the Water. The General himself retir'd to Leith, to provide for the Supply of his Soldiers ; and here he receiv'd the welcome News of the Surrender of Bruntisland to Lambert ; who having brought the Army before it, the Governor of the Place was so dismay'd, that after short Parley he deliver'd it up on these Conditions

Bruntis-  
land surren-  
der'd to Lam-  
bert.

ons: "First, That the Soldiers in Garrison (being 1651.  
"about five hundred) should march away with  
"flying Colours. Secondly, That the Inhabitants  
"of the Town should have what belong'd to  
"them. Thirdly, That all Provisions of War, to-  
"gether with all Guns and Shipping of War,  
"should be deliver'd up for the Use of the Com-  
"mon-wealth of England." This Place was of  
great Advantage to the English; for it being a  
very commodious Harbour, the Army might  
from thence, in the course of their Conquests,  
have continued Supplies of all that was necessary  
and convenient for them.

GENERAL Cromwell having settled Matters The Ge-  
at Leith, immediately cross'd the Frith to his general pa-  
Army, which was then at Brutisland; and so fes over  
dispatching Whalley to reduce the smaller Gar-  
isons upon the Coast of Fife, and leaving Co-  
nlon West's Regiment in Bruntisland, he with  
the rest of the Army and Train of Artillery,  
on the 30th of July, march'd away towards  
St. John's Town; that by reducing that important  
place under his Power, he might prevent the  
Highlanders from sending any Supplies, either  
of Men or Provisions, to Sterling. Being come He takes  
before it, he sent this Summons to the Town, St. John-  
That being inform'd the Town was void of stown.  
a Garrison, save the Inhabitants and some  
few Country-Men, he requir'd them to deli-  
ver the same to him immediately; promis-  
ing to secure their Persons from Violence,  
and their Goods from Plunder." The Mes-  
senger, who carry'd this Summons, was, contra-  
to the Expectation of the English, deny'd  
mittance, and came back with this short Re-  
from the Townsmen, That they were not in  
Capacity to receive any Letters. But to excuse  
Matter, the Magistrates soon sent after him  
Message, declaring, " That the King's Ma-  
" jesty

1651. "jeſty had ſent a very ſtrong Party, able to  
 ~~~~~ " maintain the Town, and overpoWer them with  
 " a Governor: But always to obſerve Civility  
 " with his Lordſhip, they had obtain'd leave  
 " from the Governor to excuse themſelves, by  
 " ſhewing how unable they were to treat." It  
 ſeems, the Lord Duffus had the Day before  
 enter'd the Town with thirteen hundred Men;  
 but the Lord-General, upon his Refuſal of the  
 new Summons which he ſent him, having drain'd  
 the Water out of the Motes round about the  
 Town, and batter'd the Walls with his Cannon  
 oblig'd him to ſurrender in a Day's Time.

The King in great Perplexity. THESE wonderful Successes, which attended the English Arms, threw the King's Affairs in Scotland into great Perplexity and Distrefſe whereupon he began to think of making an Iruption into England. He was now much nearer England than General Cromwell, who could not poſſibly overtake him, till after his Majefy had been ſome Days March before him. His Fate depended upon the Success of one Battle and he had Reason to believe, that all the Northern Parts of England were well affefted to him; whither if he could once reach, he might hope to encrease his Army by the Aeffection of ſuch Men as would render it muſt more conſiderable. Upon this, it was refolv'd that the Army ſhould with all poſſible Expedition advance into England, by the neareſt Way that led into Lancashire; whither his Majefy ſent Expresses to his Friends in those Parts that they might have their Soldiers in a Readineſs to receive him. He alſo ſent an Exprefſe to the Earl of Derby, who was then in the Isle of Man, requiring him to meet him in Lancashire. The Marquess of Argyle was the only Person who diſſuaded the King from marching into England, and that with no inconfide-

ble Arguments; but the contrary Opinion prevailing, Argyle retir'd to his House in the High-<sup>1651.</sup> lands: And so, on the last Day of July, the His Army King began his March from Sterling, and on <sup>enters Eng-</sup><sub>land</sub> the 6th of August enter'd England by the Way of Carlisle, with an Army of about sixteen thousand Men.

THE Noise of this sudden Invasion gave a most terrible Alarm to the whole Nation, especially to the Parliament at Westminster, who were still more dismay'd at the Reports of the Greatness of the King's Army, and his Design of mounting his Foot-Soldiers, and advancing directly to London. They were now ready to pass severe Censures on the Lord-General Cromwell, and condemn'd him of Rashness and Precipitation; whilst he in the mean Time took Care to satisfy them as well as he could, and assur'd them, " That he would overtake the Enemy, and give a good Account of them, before they should give them any Trouble." Accordingly, that he might lose no Time, he order'd Major-General Lambert " To follow the King immediately with seven or eight hundred Horse, and to draw as many others as he could from the Country Militia; and to molest the King's March as much as possible, by being near, and obliging him to march close; not engaging his own Party in any sharp Actions, without a very manifest Advantage; but keeping himself entire till he should come up to him."

THE Parliament also exerted themselves to The Par-  
utmost on this Occasion. The Militia of liament's  
Counties was order'd to be drawn into the Proceed-  
ing, to obstruct the King's March. Two thou-  
sand out of Staffordshire, and four thousand out  
of Lancashire and Cheshire, under the Command  
of Colonel Birch, join'd with Lambert and Har-  
ison:

1651. rison. The Lord Fairfax drew out into the Field  
 with a formidable Body, to flank the King's Army; the Militia of the City of London was commanded out, and all the adjacent Counties were strictly enjoin'd by the Parliament to set out Horse and Men at their own Charges. An Act was also publish'd, wherein it was declar'd, "That no Person whatsoever should presume to hold any Correspondence with Charles Stuart, or with his Party, or with any of them, nor give any Intelligence to them, nor countenance, encourage, abet, adhere to, or assist any of them; nor voluntarily afford, or cause to be afforded or deliver'd unto any of them, any Victuals Provisions, Ammunition, Arms, Horses, Plate Money, Men, or any other Relief whatsoever under Pain of High-Treason: And that Persons should use their utmost Endeavours to hinder and stop their March."

The General leaving Monk in Scotland marches into England.

THE Lord-General Cromwell being now ready to march into England in Pursuit of the Scotch Army, endeavour'd to settle the Affairs of Scotland in such a Posture, as effectually to secure what was already obtain'd; and gave all the necessary Orders to Lieutenant-General Monk whom he resolv'd to leave behind him with strong Party of Foot, and such Troops of Horse as might be able to quell any Forces which should rise after his Departure. This done, the victorious Cromwell, with the Remainder of the Army, march'd out of Scotland, and on the 1<sup>st</sup> of August cross'd the Tine: With which March being quite wearied out, he caus'd the Army to pitch their Tents on Ryson Haugh, on the Brink of the Tine, whilst himself took his Quarters at Stelly-House, not far from the Soldiers. The Mayor of Newcastle understanding that the Army was near the Town, immediately went out, accompanied with the rest of the

gistrat

gistrates, to congratulate the Lord-General's Arrival in *England*; and that they might be the more welcome to the Soldiers, carried along with them, Bread, Cheese, Bisket, and Beer, for the Refreshment of the Army. These Supplies were very seasonable, and enabled the Soldiers chearfully to continue their March.

THE Scots in the mean Time by a swift March went on in Prosecution of their present Design. The King led them thro' *Lancashire*, where at the Head of his Army he was in all the Market Towns he pass'd thro' proclaim'd King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*. But he met not with that Encouragement which he expected; for besides that the *Scots* daily deserted him, the Country did not come in to him as he believ'd they would, being continually obstructed by the Forces of the Common-wealth, which spread themselves over all Places. The King with his Army march'd on towards *Warrington* in *Cheshire*, the Passage of which Bridge was sharply contested by *Lambert* and his Party, but was at last obtained by the King, the *Scots*, as they fell on, crying out, *Oh you Rogues! we will be with you before your Cromwell comes.* The King resolv'd to continue his March with the same Expedition as he had us'd hitherto, till they should come to such a Post where they might securely rest themselves; which the poor Soldiers very much desir'd, being extreamly fatigu'd with the Length of their March, and the Heat of the Season. His Majesty hoping the Interest that Major-General *Massey* had in *Glocestershire*, would draw a great many in to him from those Parts, resolv'd to direct his March that Way. At last looking upon *Worcester* as a proper Place, he determin'd to settle there with his Army; and accordingly, on the 23d Day of *August*, he enter'd the City with very little Opposition; where he

They  
come to  
*Worcester.*

1651. resolv'd to abide, and expect the coming of his  
 ~~~ Enemy; and that he might not be wanting in  
 any Thing, that might tend to the Preservation  
 of himself and Forces, he order'd Works to be  
 rais'd for better Security. Then he sent a Sum-  
 mons to Colonel Mackworth Governor of Shrews-  
 bury, inviting him to yield up that Garrison  
 to him; to which the Governour return'd a  
 peremptory Demial. He also sent Letters to Sir  
 Thomas Middleton, to raise Forces for him in  
 Montgomery-shire; but Sir Thomas detain'd the  
 Messenger Prisoner, and sent up the Letter to  
 the Parliament. A Day or two after the King  
 had taken up his Quarters in Worcester, he re-  
 ceiv'd the melancholy News of the Defeat of the  
 Earl of Derby. This brave Man was the only  
 Person, who made any considerable Attempt to  
 support the King. He got together a Body of  
 fifteen hundred Horse; but before he could  
 join the King's Army, Colonel Lilburn set upon  
 him near Wigan, and entirely routed him. The  
 Earl himself being wounded, retreated into Cheshire  
 with about eighty Horse, and from thence to the  
 King at Worcester.

General  
Cromwell  
marches  
after  
them.

IN the mean Time, General Cromwell having  
 refresh'd his Soldiers near Newcastle, immediate-  
 ly march'd away by Rippon, Ferry-brigs, Don-  
 castor, Mansfield and Coventry; and at Keinton  
 join'd with the rest of the Parliament's Forces  
 under Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Major-Gene-  
 ral Desborough, the Lord Grey of Groby, Major  
 General Lambert, and Major-General Harrison  
 making in all about thirty thousand Men. The  
 Common-wealth had indeed by their new Levy  
 encreased their Forces to a prodigious Number,  
 and England never before produc'd so many Sol-  
 diers in so short a Time: For the standing Army  
 with those other Forces newly rais'd by Act

Parliament, upon this Occasion, are said to have  
amounted to above sixty thousand Men. 1651.

THE Lord-General being come up, and having observ'd the Posture of the Enemy's Army, began with an Attempt upon *Upton-Bridge*, seven Miles from *Worcester*, designing there, if possible, to pass over his Army. *Lambert* was appointed to manage this Affair, who immediately detatch'd a small Party of Horse and Dragoons, to see how feasible the Enterprize might be. This Party coming to the Bridge, found it broken down, all but one Plank. Over this these daring Fellows pass'd, who finding the *Scots* took the Alarm, presently betook themselves to a Church for Security. Hereupon *Massey*, who lay at *Upton* with about sixty Dragoons, and two hundred Horse, gave a Camisado on the Church; but Major-General *Lambert*, having in the mean time pass'd over a new Supply of Horse, fell furiously upon the Enemy's Party, and over-powering them, forc'd them to a Retreat; which *Massey* supported with so much Bravery, that sometimes facing, then fighting, and so falling off, himself brought up the Rear, and never quitted his Station, till he arriv'd with his Men at *Worcester*. In this Encounter his Horse was kill'd under him, and he receiv'd a Shot in his Arm. The Bridge being thus gain'd, all possible Industry was us'd to make it up; so that Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*'s Army quickly pass'd over; which still marching forward, they laid a Bridge over the *Teame*, which falls into the *Severn*, about a mile beneath *Worcester*: And the General, in the mean time, caus'd a Bridge of Boats to be laid over the *Severn* on his Side; and this for the better Conjunction of the Army, and that the Enemy might be the more straitned.

THE *Scots* drawing out to oppose the Lieutenant-General's Passage, the Lord General resolv'd

1651. to divert their Design, or to oblige them to fight on great Disadvantage: To which end, himself in Person led over the River two Regiments of Foot, Colonel Hacker's Horse, and his own Life-guard, on that side of Worcester, which he design'd to attack. Whilst this was doing, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, assisted by Colonel Goff's and Major-General Dean's Regiments of Foot, maintain'd a brave Fight from Hedge to Hedge, which the Scots had lin'd thick with Musqueteers, judging that to be the safest Way. And indeed they stoutly maintain'd their Ground, till Colonels Blake's, Gibbons's and Marsh's Regiments came in and join'd with the others against them; upon which they retreated to Powick-Bridge, where they were again engag'd by Colonel Hains, Cobbe and Matthews; and perceiving they were not able to prevail, they thought fit at last to secure themselves by flying into Worcester.

PRESENTLY after, the King calling a Council of War, it was resolv'd to engage General Cromwell himself. Accordingly, they on a sudden sally out against him with so much Fury, that his invincible Life-guard could not sustain the Shock but was forc'd to retire in some Disorder; and his Cannon likewise were for some time in

He total- Power of the King's Party: But Multitudes ly defeats fresh Forces coming in, at last turn'd the Scale them in the Battle of Worcester.

Cromwell's side. The Battle continued for three or four Hours with great Fierceness and various Success, till the Scots being over-power'd Cromwell's superior Force, were totally rout'd flying away in great Confusion to secure themselves. The Horse made as fast as they could back again towards the North; but the Foot ran into the City, being closely pursu'd some of the Conquerors, who furiously flew through all the Streets, doing such terrible Execution that there was nothing to be seen for miles around.

Time but Blood and Slaughter. As soon as 1651.  
the Lord-General had forc'd his Way thro' Sud-  
bury-Gate, whilst this Party were killing and  
slaying all they met with, he with some Regi-  
ments ran up to the *Fort-Royal*, commanded by  
Colonel *Drummond*; and being just about to  
storm, he first ventur'd his Person thro' whole  
Showers of Shot, to offer the *Scots Quarter*, if  
they would presently submit, and deliver up the  
Fort; which they refusing, he soon reduc'd it by  
Force, and without Mercy put them all to the  
Sword, to the Number of fifteen hundred Men.  
In the mean Time very considerable Parties  
were sent after the flying Enemy, and the Coun-  
try every where rose upon them. The Slain in  
this Battle were reckon'd about four thousand,  
and the Prisoners taken in the Fight and in the  
Pursuit amounted to about ten thousand; so that  
near all was lost. The chief of the Prisoners  
were Duke *Hamilton* (Brother of the late Duke)  
who died soon after of his Wounds; the Earl  
of *Derby*, who not long after was sentenc'd to  
Death, and lost his Head at *Bolton*; the Earls  
of *Lauderdale*, *Carnwarth*, *Rothes*, and *Kelly*;  
the Lord *Sinclare*, Sir *John Packington*, Sir *Charles*  
*Cunningham*, Sir *Ralph Clare*, Major-General *Mont-*  
*gomery*, Major-General *Piscotty*, Mr. *Richard Fan-*  
*shaw* Secretary to the King, the General of the  
Ordnance, the Adjutant-General of the Foot;  
besides several Colonels, and other inferior Officers.  
There were also taken all their Artillery and  
Baggage, a hundred and fifty eight Colours,  
the King's Standard, his Coach and Horses, and  
several other Things of great Value. The King  
scap'd after a very wonderful Manner; and ha-  
ving wander'd for some Time about *England*, he  
at last found Means to embark, and landed safe  
at *Diep* in *France*. This great Victory, which  
was justly look'd upon as the Decision of the  
grand

1651. grand Cause between the King and the Commonwealth, was obtain'd by General Cromwell on the third of September, the same Day twelve Month, that the Scots had such a Defeat given them by his Forces at *Dunbar*, as lost them their Kingdom. The next Day the Lord-General sent a Letter to the Parliament; which was as follows:

His Letter to the Parliament thereupon

" I AM not able yet to give you an exact Account of the great Things the Lord hath done for this Common-wealth, and for his People; and yet I am unwilling to be silent, but according to my Duty I shall represent it to you, as it comes to Hand. This Battle was fought with various Success for some Hours, but still hopeful on your Part, and in the End became an absolute Victory, and so full an one, as prov'd a total Defeat and Ruin of the Enemy's Army, and Possession of the Town; our Men entring at the Enemy's Heels, and fighting with them in the Streets with very great Courage, took all their Baggage and Artillery. What the Slain are, I can give you no Account, because we have not taken an exact View; but they are very many, and must needs be so, because the Dispute was long, and very near at Hand, and often at Push of Pike, and from one Defence to another. There are about six or seven thousand Prisoners taken here, and many Officers and Noble-Men of Quality; Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Rothes*, and divers other Noble-Men; I hear, the Earl of *Lauderdale*, many Officers of great Quality, and some that will be fit Objects of your Justice. We have sent very considerable Parties after the flying Enemy: I hear they have taken considerable Numbers of Prisoners, and are very close in the Pursuit. Indeed, I hear the Country

" Country riseth upon them every where; and I <sup>1651,</sup> believe, the Forces that lay thro' Providence at Bewdley, and in Shropshire and Staffordshire, and those with Colonel Lilburne, were in a Condition, as if this had been foreseen, to intercept what should return. A more particular Account than this will be prepared for you, as we are able. I heard they had not many more than a thousand Horse in their Body that fled, and I believe we have near four thousand Forces following and interposing between them and home. Their Army was about sixteen thousand strong, and fought ours on Worcester side Severn, almost with their whole, whilst we had engaged half our Army on the other side, but with Parties of theirs. Indeed it was a stiff Busines; yet I do not think we have lost two hundred Men. Your new-rais'd Forces did perform singular good Service, for which they deserve a very high Estimation and Acknowledgment, as also for their Willingness thereunto, forasmuch as the same hath added so much to the Reputation of your Affairs: They are all dispatch'd home again; which, I hope, will be much for the Ease and Satisfaction of the Country, which is a great Fruit of the Successes."

" THE Dimensions of this Mercy are above my Thoughts; it is, for ought I know, a Crowning Mercy; surely, if it be not, such a one we shall have, if this provoke those that are concern'd in it to Thankfulness, and the Parliament to do the Will of him, who hath done his Will for it, and for the Nation; whose good Pleasure is, to establish the Nation, and the Change of the Government, by making the People so willing to the Defence hereof, and so signally to bless the Endeav-

" yours

1651. " yours of your Servants in this late great Work. I am bold, humbly to beg, that all Thoughts may tend to the promoting of his Honour, who hath wrought so great Salvation, and that the Fatness of these continued Mercies may not occasion Pride and Wantonness, as formerly the like hath done to a chosen People. But that the Fear of the Lord, even for his Mercies, may keep an Authority, and a People so prospered, and blessed, and witnessed to, humble and faithful; that Justice and Righteousness, Mercy and Truth may flow from you, as a thankful Return to our glorious God: This shall be the Prayer of Sir, your most humble and obedient Servant  
*O. Cromwell.*"



## C H A P. V.

*From the Battle of Worcester, to the Disolution of the Long PARLIAMENT.*

**G**ENERAL Cromwell having given the deadly Blow to the Scots, and to all the King's Party, staid no longer at Worcester, than to see the Walls of it levell'd with the Ground, and the Dikes fill'd with Earth, thereby to prevent the Disaffection of the Inhabitants, and to prevent their attempting to secure any Enemy in the future. This done, he march'd up in triumphal Manner to London, driving four thousand Prisoners like Sheep before him. Beyond Aylesbury, he was met by four Commissioners from the Parliament, whom they were to pay him all the Marks of Honour and esteem. When he came to Acton, he was sole

He returns in triumph to London.

ly met by the Speaker, and the rest of the Members, and Council of State; and soon after by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs, and many Persons of Quality, with the Militia and Multitudes of People; who welcom'd him with loud Shouts and Acclamations, and several Vollies of great and small Shot. *Whitelock* says, he carry'd himself with great Affability, and seeming Humility; and in all his Discourses about the Busines of *Worcester*, would seldom mention any thing of himself, but of the Gallantry of the Officers and Soldiers, and gave all the Glory of the Action unto God. After some small Repose, on the 16th of September, he took his Place in Parliament, where the Speaker made a Speech to him, congratulating his Return after so many worthy Atchievements, and giving him the Thanks of the House for his great and faithful Services to the Commonwealth. On the same Day, he with his chief Officers, was feasted in the City, with all possible State and Pomp: And soon after two Acts were drawn up in Honour of him; one for a solemn Thanksgiving-Day, and the other for yearly Observation of the third Day of September, in all the three Kingdoms, with a Narrative of the Grounds thereof. The Parliament likewise settled four thousand Pounds a Year upon him, out of the Estates of the Duke of Buckingham, and the Marquess of Worcester, besides two thousand five hundred Pounds per Ann. formerly granted.

SOON after the Battle of *Worcester*, the Isle of The Isles of Man, bravely defended by the Heroick Countess of *Man*, Derby, and the Isle of Jersey, that had been long maintain'd by Sir George Carteret, were both reduc'd <sup>of Man,</sup> <sub>Jersey,</sub> <sub>Guernsey,</sub> <sub>and Scilly</sub> to the Parliament's Obedience. They had long reduc'd. Once been Masters of Guernsey, except the chief fort, call'd *Cornet-Castle*, which had been a great while defended by Roger Burges the Governour, but

1651. but was about the latter end of October surrend'rd by him upon very good Articles. And the Scilly Isles, which had been the chief Harbour for the King's Men of War, were some time before reduc'd by a Part of the Parliament's Fleet.

*Monk finishes the Reduction of Scotland* MAJOR-GEN. Monk, whom the Lord-General had left in Scotland, to perfect the Reduction of that Kingdom, proceeded in his Work with very good Success. Before the Fight at Worcester, he took Sterling, the chief Strength of the Scots; as also Dundee, with as terrible an Execution as Cromwell had before us'd at Tredagh; and surpriz'd a Convention of the Scotch Nobility, among whom was old General Lesley, and sent them Prisoners to London. The Example that was made of Dundee, occasion'd such a Terror, that St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Dunbarton and Dunnottar Castles, with other Towns, Castles and strong Holds, either voluntarily declar'd for the Conquerors, or surrend'rd upon Summons. Notwithstanding this, the Scots made one attempt more under Middleton, Huntley, Glencarne, and others in the Highlands: But they were soon suppress'd and dispers'd by Colonel Morgan: So that the English extended their Conquests thro' all Parts of the Kingdom even as far as the Isles of Orkney and Shetland which now submitted to them.

*The State of that Kingdom afterwards.* AND here we shall dismiss the Affairs of Scotland for the present, with the Remarks that Bishop Burnet makes on the State of that Kingdom after this absolute Reduction of it under the Power of the English. " After this, says he, the Country was kept in great Order: Some Castles in the Highlands had Garisons put into them, that were so careful in their Discipline and so exact to their Rules, that in no Time the Highlands were kept in better Order, than during the Usurpation. There was a considerable Force of about seven or eight thousand Men

" key

"kept in *Scotland*: These were paid exactly, and  
"strictly disciplin'd. The Pay of the Army  
"brought so much Money into the Kingdom,  
"that it continued all that while in a very flou-  
"rishing State. *Cromwell* built three **Citadels**, at  
*Leith*, *Air*, and *Inverness*, besides many little  
"Forts. There was good Justice done, and Vice  
"was suppress'd and punish'd; so that we always  
"reckon those eight Years of **Usurpation**, a Time  
"of great Peace and Prosperity. There was also  
"a sort of Union of the three Kingdoms in one  
"Parliament, where *Scotland* had its Represen-  
"tative. The Marquels of *Argyle* went up one  
"of our Commissioners."

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SOON after the Victory at *Worcester*, General *Cromwell* desir'd a Meeting with several Members of Parliament, and some of the principal Officers of the Army, at the Speaker's House; where, as *Whitelock*, who was one of the Number, acquaints us, he propos'd to them, "That now the old King being dead, and his Son defeated, he held it necessary to come to a Settlement of the Nation: In order to which he had requested this Meeting, that they together might consider and advise, what was fit to be done, and to be presented to the Parliament."

WHAT pass'd hereupon in this Conference, we will set down as we find it in *Whitelock*. *Lenthall* the Speaker began thus: "My Lord, this Company were very ready to attend your Excellency; and the Business you are pleas'd to propound to us, is very necessary to be consider'd. God hath given marvellous Success to our Forces under your Command, and if we do not improve these Mercies to some Settlement, such as may be to God's Honour, and the good of this Common-wealth, we shall be very much blameworthy."

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1651.

HARRISON. "I think that which my Lord  
 General hath propounded, is to advise us to a  
 Settlement both of our civil and spiritual Li-  
 berties, and so that the Mercies which the Lord  
 hath given in to us, may not be cast away;  
 how this may be done is the great Question."

WHITELOCK. "It is a great Question indeed,  
 and not suddenly to be resolved; yet it were pity  
 that a Meeting of so many able worthy Persons  
 as I see here, should be fruitless. I should  
 humbly offer in the first Place, whether it be  
 not requisite to be understood, in what Way this  
 Settlement is desired, whether of an absolute  
 Republick, or with any Mixture of Monar-  
 chy."

GENERAL Cromwell. "My Lord Commisioner  
 Whitelock, hath put us upon the right Point,  
 and indeed it is my Meaning, that we should  
 consider, whether a Republick, or a mix'd Mo-  
 narchical Government will be best to be settled  
 and if any thing Monarchical, then in whom  
 that Power shall be placed."

SIR Tho. Widdrington. "I think a mix'd Mo-  
 narchical Government will be most suitable to  
 the Laws and People of this Nation; and  
 any Monarchical, I suppose we shall hold  
 most just to place that Power in one of the Sons  
 of the late King."

FLEETWOOD. "I think that the Question  
 Whether an absolute Republick, or a mix'd  
 Monarchy, be best to be settled in this Nation  
 will not be very easy to be determin'd.

LORD-Chief-Justice St. John. "It will be found  
 that the Government of this Nation, without  
 something of Monarchical Power, will be ver-  
 difficult to be so settled, as not to shake the  
 Foundation of our Laws, and the Liberties  
 of the People."

LENTHALL. "It will breed a strange Confusion  
"to settle a Government of this Nation, without  
"something of Monarchy."

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DESBOROUGH. "I beseech you, my Lord, why  
"may not this, as well as other Nations, be go-  
"verned in the Way of a Republick?"

WHITELOCK. "The Laws of *England* are so  
"interwoven with the Power and Practice of Mo-  
"narchy, that to settle a Government without  
"something of Monarchy in it, would make  
"so great an Alteration in the Proceedings  
"of our Law, that you have scarce time to rec-  
"tify; nor can we well foresee the Inconvenien-  
"cies which will arise thereby."

WHALLEY. "I do not well understand Mat-  
"ters of Law; but it seems to me the best Way,  
"not to have any thing of Monarchical Power  
in the Settlement of our Government: And if  
we should resolve upon any, whom have we to  
pitch upon? The King's eldest Son hath been  
in Arms against us, and his second Son likewise  
is our Enemy."

SIR Thomas Widdrington. "But the late  
King's third Son, the Duke of Gloucester, is  
still among us, and too young to have been in  
Arms against us, or infected with the Princi-  
ples of our Enemies."

WHITELOCK. "There may be a Day given for  
the King's eldest Son, or for the Duke of York  
his Brother, to come in to the Parliament;  
and upon such Terms as shall be thought fit,  
and agreeable both to our Civil and Spiritual  
Liberties, a Settlement may be made with  
them."

GENERAL Cromwell. "That will be a Busi-  
ness of more than ordinary Difficulty; but re-  
ally I think, if it may be done with Safety, and  
Preservation of our Rights, both as *Englishmen*,  
and as Christians, that a Settlement with  
"some-

1651. " something of Monarchical Power in it would be  
 very effectual."

MUCH more Discourse there was by several Gentlemen then present: The Soldiers were generally for a pure Republick, the Lawyers for a mix'd Monarchy, and many for the Duke of Gloucester to be made King; but General Cromwell still put off that Debate to some other Point; and many think, that having now begun to entertain Thoughts of setting up himself, his Design in this Conference, was only to discover the Inclinations of these Persons, that he might make a proper Use thereof in prosecuting the Ends of his own Ambition, which was much heighten'd by the finishing Stroak that was given to his Successes, in the late crowning Victory at Worcester.

1652. THE Commission of General Cromwell to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland being expir'd, the Commission of Parliament did not think fit to renew that Title and Office, looking upon them to be more suitable to Monarchy, than to a free Common-wealth expiring, but they pass'd a Vote, " That the A&t of Parliament constituting Oliver Cromwell, Esq; Captain-General and Commander in chief of the Armies and Forces rais'd by their Authority within England, should extend to the Forces in Ireland, as if Ireland had been particularly named: And that the Lord-General be empower'd to appoint such a Person as he shall think fit, to command the Forces in Ireland and to Commission him accordingly." And Lieutenant-General Fleetwood had the Command in chief of the Forces in Ireland given him, hold under the Lord-General Cromwell; and under his Conduct, that Kingdom was in a little time brought into perfect Subjection.

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WHILST the Common-wealth of *England* was 1652. thus every where victorious at home, a Rupture <sup>A Rupture between</sup> happen'd between them and the elder Republick the States of *Holland*; which occasion'd such terrible Sea-Fights, that no preceding Age since *England* the Creation had ever produc'd the like. Some and *Hol-* Time in the last Year, the Parliament sent over *land*. the Chief Justice *St. John* and Mr. *Strickland*, to treat of a Coalition with the *Dutch*; but they apprehending that this Conjunction might rob them of their Trade, and be little less than making them a Province to *England*, not only refused to consent to it, but rudely treated *St. John*; which was so much resented by his haughty Spirit, that he made a Report of this Embassy little to the Advantage of the *Dutch*. Upon this the Parliament pass'd the *Act of Navigation*, which "prohibited Foreign Ships from bringing any Merchandizes into *England*, except such as should be of the Growth or Manufacture of that Country, to which the said Ships belong'd." By Virtue of which law the *English* took Occasion to search the *Dutch* Vessels, and often to make Prize of them. The States hereupon sent over four Ambassadors for the restoring and preserving a good understanding between the two Republicks; and the Parliament demanded the Arrears for *Dutch* Fishing upon the Coasts of *England* and *Scotland*, the giving up to Justice those of *Dutch* who survived, that were assisting in Massacre of the *English* at *Amboyna*; and free Trade up the *Scheld*. The *Dutch* seeing how little they were to expect from the *English* by a Treaty, began to prepare for a War; nor were the others behind-hand with them.

THE first Sea-Fight between these potent Republicks, was in *May* this Year; when Admiral <sup>Several Sea-fights between</sup> *Van them*.

1652. *Van Trump*, according to the Instructions he had received, refusing to strike Sail to the *English*, *Blake* the *English* Admiral gave Orders to fire at *Trump's* Flag; which being done thrice, *Trump* instead of striking it, pour'd a Broadside upon *Blake*. Hereupon both Fleets engag'd from four in the Afternoon till Night; in which Fight, the *Dutch* had one Man of War taken, and another sunk, one hundred and fifty Men kill'd, and their whole Fleet much damag'd; whereas the *English* had not one Ship lost or disabled, and but few of their Men slain. The second Sea-Fight was on the 20th of *August*; when Sir *George Ayscough*, who was left by *Blake* to command in the *Downs*, with thirty eight Men of War, set upon the *Dutch* Fleet of fifty, and fifteen Merchant Men. This Fight having continu'd three Days, the *Dutch* lost two Ships, one sunk, and the other burnt, but the *English* none. On the 28th of *October*, Admiral *Blake* with Vice-Admiral *Penn*, and Rear-Admiral *Bourn*, again engag'd the *Dutch* Fleet near the *North-Foreland*, boarded and took their Rear-Admiral, sunk two more of them, and one was blown up. The rest of the *Dutch* Fleet being very much shatter'd and forc'd to fly, was purposed twelve Leagues by the *English*; who lost not one Ship in this Fight, tho' many of them were damag'd in their Rigging. Another furious Fight happen'd on the 29th of *November*, which continued from ten in the Morning till six at Night, when the *Dutch* Fleet, double in Number to the *English*, got the better of them, taking the *Geldland* Frigat, burning the *Bonadventure*, and sinking three more. One of the *Dutch* Flag-Ships was blown up, and all the Men lost but two; and *Van Trumo's* and *De Ruyter's* Ships were much damag'd.

BUT to return home: About this Time, the 1652.  
 Lord-General *Cromwell* meeting with Commissioner *Whitelock*, saluted him with more than ordinary Courtesy, and desired to have some private Discourse with him. *Whitelock* waited on him accordingly, and after some previous Discourse, the Lord-General proceeded thus: "Your Lord-ship hath observed most truly the Inclinations of the Officers of the Army to particular Factions, and to Murmurings, that they are not rewarded according to their Deserts, that others who have adventured least, have gained most, and they have neither Profit nor Preference, nor Place in Government, which others hold, who have undergone no Hardships nor Hazards for the Common-wealth; and herein they have too much of Truth, yet their Insolence is very great, and their Influence upon the private Soldiers works them to the like Discontents and Murmurings. Then as for the Members of Parliament, the Army begins to have a strange Distaste against them, and I wish there were not too much Cause of it; and really their Pride, and Ambition, and Self-seeking, ingrossing all Places of Honour and Profit to themselves and their Friends, and their daily breaking forth into new and violent Parties and Factions; their Delays of Business, and Design to perpetuate themselves, and to continue the Power in their own Hands; their meddling in private Matters between Party and Party, contrary to the Institution of Parliaments, and their Injustice and Partiality in those Matters, and the scandalous Lives of some of the chief of them; these Things, my Lord, do give too much Ground for People to open their Mouths against them, and to dislike them. Nor can they be kept within the Bounds of Justice, and Law or Reason, they

A remarkable Conference between General *Cromwell* and *Whitelock*.

1652. " themselves being the supreme Power of the  
 " Nation, liable to no Account to any, nor to  
 " be controul'd or regulated by any other Power,  
 " there being none Superior, or Co-ordinate with  
 " them. So that unless there be some Authori-  
 " ty and Power so full and so high, as to re-  
 " strain and keep Things in better Order, and  
 " that may be a Check to these Exorbitancies,  
 " it will be impossible in human Reason to  
 " prevent our Ruin."

*WHITELOCK* answered : " I confess the Dan-  
 " ger we are in by these Extravagancies and in-  
 " ordinate Powers, is more than I doubt is ge-  
 " nerally apprehended; yet as to that Part of  
 " it which concerns the Soldiery, your Excellen-  
 " cy's Power and Commission is sufficient already  
 " to restrain and keep them in their due Obe-  
 " dience: And blessed be God, you have done i-  
 " hitherto, and I doubt not but by your Wi-  
 " dom you will be able still to do it. As to the  
 " Members of Parliament, I confess the greater  
 " Difficulty lies there, your Commission bein-  
 " g from them, and they being acknowledged the  
 " supreme Power of the Nation, subject to no  
 " Controls, nor allowing any Appeal from them.  
 " Yet, I am sure, your Excellency will not look  
 " upon them as generally depraved; too many  
 " of them are much to blame in those Thin-  
 " gs you have mention'd, and many unfit Thin-  
 " gs have pass'd among them; but I hope well  
 " the major Part of them, when great Matter  
 " come to a Decision."

THE Lord-General reply'd, " There is little  
 " Hopes of a good Settlement to be made  
 " them, really there is not; but a great deal  
 " Fear, that they will destroy again what  
 " Lord hath done graciously for them and  
 " We all forget God, and God will forget us,  
 " give us up to Confusion, and these Men  
 " "

" help it on, if they be suffered to proceed in their Ways: Some Course must be thought on to curb and restrain them, or we shall be ruined by them." Upon this *Whitelock* said, " We our selves have acknowledged them the supreme Power, and taken our Commissions and Authority in the highest Concernments from them; and how to restrain and curb them after this, it will be hard to find out a Way for it."

THE General then put this short Question to *Whitelock*, *What if a Man should take upon him to be King?* *Whitelock* said, *He thought that Remedy would be worse than the Disease:* And the General asking him, *Why he thought so,* he proceeded, " As to your own Person, the Title of King would be of no Advantage, because you have the full kingly Power in you already, concerning the *Militia*, as you are General: As to the Nomination of Civil Officers, those whom you think fitteſt are ſeldom refuſ'd; and altho' you have no negative Vote in the paſſing of Laws, yet what you diſlike will not eaſily be carried; and the Taxes are already ſettled, and in your Power to diſpoſe the Money raifed. And as to foreign Affairs, tho' the ceremonial Application be made to the Parliament, yet the Expeſtation of good or bad Success in it, is from your Excellency; and particular Sollicitations of foreign Ministers are made to you only. So that I apprehend indeed leſſ Envy and Danger, and Pomp, but not leſſ Power and real Opportunities of doing good in your being General, than would be if you had affum'd the Title of King."

THE Lord-General proceeded to argue, *That never was actually King by Election, the Acts by him were as lawful and justifiable, as if by a King, who had the Crown by Inheritance;* and that by an *Act of Parliament in King*

1652. Henry the Seventh's Reign, it was safer for the  
People to Act under a King, let his Title be what  
it will, than under any other Power. Whitelock  
agreed to the Legality, but much doubted the  
Expediency of it; and being ask'd, *What Danger*  
*be apprehended in taking this Title*, he an-  
swer'd, "The Danger I think would be this:  
" One of the main Points of Controversy betwixt  
" us and our Adversaries, is, *Whether the Go-*  
*vernment of this Nation shall be established in*  
*Monarchy, or in a free State or Common-wealth?*  
" And most of our Friends have engaged with  
" us, upon the Hopes of having the Govern-  
ment settled in a free State, and to effect that  
" have undergone all their Hazards and Diffi-  
culties; they being persuaded (tho' I think  
" much mistaken) that under the Government  
" of a Common-wealth, they shall enjoy more Li-  
berty and Right, both as to their spiritual and  
" civil Concernments, than they shall under Mo-  
narchy, the Pressures and Dislike whereof are  
" so fresh in their Memories and Sufferings  
" Now if your Excellency shall take upon you  
the Title of King, this State of your Cause  
will be thereby wholly determined, and Mo-  
narchy establish'd in your Person; and the Que-  
stion will be no more, Whether our Govem-  
ment shall be by a Monarch or by a free  
State, but, Whether *Cromwell* or *Stuart* shall  
be our King and Monarch. And that Que-  
stion, wherein before so great Parties  
the Nation were engag'd, and which was un-  
versal, will by this Means become in effe-  
ctual, What kind of Government we shou-  
have; now it will become Particular, Who shall  
be our Goverour, whether of the Family  
the *Stuarts*, or of the Family of the *Cro-*  
*wells.* Thus the State of our Controversy  
"

" ing totally changed, all those who were for a  
" Common-wealth (and they are a very great  
" and considerable Party) having their Hopes  
" therein frustrate, will desert you, your Hands  
" will be weakned, your Interest streightned, and  
" your Cause in apparent Danger to be ruined."

THE General here acknowledg'd that *Whitelock* spoke Reason, and ask'd him, *What other Thing he could propound, that might obviate the present Dangers and Difficulties, wherein they were all involv'd.* *Whitelock* confess'd, it would be the greatest Difficulty to find out such an Expedient, but said, he had had some Things in his private Thoughts upon this Matter, which he fear'd were not fit, or safe for him to communicate: But upon the General's pressing him to disclose them, and promising there should no Prejudice come to him by any private Discourse betwixt them, and assuring him, he should never betray his Friend, and that he should take kindly whatever he should offer; *Whitelock* began thus: " Give me leave then first to consider your Excellency's Condition. You are environed with secret Enemies: Upon your subduing of the publick Enemy, the Officers of your Army account themselves all Victors, and to have had an equal Share in the Conquest with you. The Success which God hath given us, hath not a little elated their Minds, and many of them are busy, and of turbulent Spirits, and are not without their Designs how they may dismount your Excellency, and some of themselves get up into the Saddle; how they may bring you down, and set up themselves. They want not Counsel and Encouragement herein, it may be from some Members of the Parliament, who may be jealous of your Power and Greatnes, lest you should grow too high for them, and in Time over-master them; and they

1652. " will plot to bring you down first, or to clip  
 ~~~~~ " your Wings."

THE General upon this thanked Whitelock for so fully considering his Condition: It is, said he, a Testimony of your Love to me and Care of me, and you have rightly consider'd it; and I may say without Vanity, that in my Condition yours is involved and all our Friends, and those that plot my Ruin will hardly bear your Continuance in any Condition worthy of you. Besides this, the Cause it self may possibly receive some Disadvantage, by the Struglings and Contentions among our selves. But what, Sir, are your Thoughts for Prevention of those Mischiefs that hang over our Heads?

WHITELOCK then proceeded: " Pardon me  
 " Sir, in the next Place a little to consider the  
 " Condition of the King of Scots. This Prince  
 " being now by your Valour, and the Succes  
 " which God hath given to the Parliament, and to  
 " the Army under your Command, reduc'd to  
 " very low Condition, both he, and all about  
 " him, cannot but be very inclinable to hearken  
 " to any Terms, whereby their lost Hopes may be  
 " reviv'd of his being restor'd to the Crown, and  
 " they to their Fortunes and native Country.  
 " By a private Treaty with him you may secur  
 " your self, and your Friends, and their Fortunes  
 " you may make your self and your Posterit  
 " as great and permanent, to all human Probab  
 " lity, as ever any Subject was, and provid  
 " for your Friends: You may put such Li  
 " mits to Monarchical Power, as will secur  
 " our Spiritual and Civil Liberties, and yo  
 " may secure the Cause in which we are a  
 " engaged; and this may be effectually don  
 " by having the Power of the Militia cont  
 " nued in your self, and whom you shall agre  
 " upon after you. I propound therefore for  
 " your Excellency to send to the King of Scot

" an

"and to have a private Treaty with him for  
"this Purpose." 1652.

THE General hereupon told him, he thought he had much Reason for what he propounded; but, said he, *It is a Matter of so high Importance and Difficulty, that it deserves more Time of Consideration and Debate, than is at present allow'd us: We shall therefore take a farther Time to discourse of it.* And with that he brake off, and went away with some Displeasure in his Countenance. His Carriage also towards *Whitelock* was from that Time alter'd, and his advising with him not so frequent and intimate as formerly; and not long after, he found an Occasion, by an honourable Employment, to send him out of the Way, that he might be no Hindrance to him in the Designs he was then carrying on. For 'tis pretty manifest, that he had it now in his Thoughts to set up himself, and bring the Crown upon his own Head: To which Purpose *Harry Nevill*, who was then one of the *Harry Nevill's Story* Council of State, us'd to tell it as a Story of his own Knowledge, "That *Cromwell* upon this <sup>concern-</sup>ing him. great Occasion sent for some of the chief City Divines, as if he made it a Matter of Conscience to be determin'd by their Advice. Among these was the leading Mr. *Calamy*, who very boldly oppos'd the Project of *Cromwell's* single Government, and offer'd to prove it both *unlawful* and *impracticable*. *Cromwell* answer'd readily upon the first Head of *Unlawful*, and appeal'd to the Safety of the Nation, being the supreme Law: But, says he, pray Mr. *Calamy*, why impracticable? *Calamy* reply'd, Oh, 'tis against the Voice of the Nation, there will be nine in ten against you. Very well, says *Cromwell*, but what if I should disarm the nine, and put the Sword in the tenth Man's Hand, would not that do the Business?"

1652. GENERAL Cromwell and his Officers, in order to bring about their Designs, were now daily complaining of the Grievances from the *long Parliament*, and seem'd very zealous upon the plain of common Pretences of Right and Justice, and publick Liberty, to put a Period to their Session; Parliament.

" which if they would not shortly do themselves,  
" the Army and People must do it for them." They particularly complain'd, " That the Parliament order'd all Things at Will, and distributed all valuable Employments among themselves; that they were so many Kings, and for one Sovereign, the Nation had many who car'd less for the Laws, than him they had destroy'd; that they embru'd the Kingdom in Blood, upon Pretence of punishing the Adversaries of the Government, but in reality to gratify their own private Revenge; that they had study'd to perpetuate themselves in an Employment which ought to be Temporary, so that all the good Subjects of the Common-wealth might share in it; that the Parliament ought to be dissolv'd, and a new Representative chosen by the universal Consent of the People, according to the Scheme laid when Monarchy was abolish'd to set up a Common-wealth." And that no Obstacle might be in the Way of the design'd future Government, Means were found to set the young Duke of Gloucester at Liberty, and send him out of the Nation.

Another Sea-fight between the English and Dutch.

ON the 18<sup>th</sup> of February, there happen'd another dreadful Fight between the English Fleet commanded by Blake, Dean, and Monk, and the Dutch under Van Trump. This Fight lasted three Days with wonderful Bravery, and terrible Slaughter on both Sides, tho' the English prevail'd; for the Dutch lost eleven Men of War, and thirty Merchant-ships; above two thousand

and of their Men being kill'd, and fifteen hundred taken Prisoners: But the *English* lost but one Ship, the *Southampton*, which was sunk; tho' their Slain were not many less than those of the Enemy.

THIS great Loss so sensibly affected the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, that they dispatch'd Letters to the *English* Parliament, to endeavour after some Means for putting an end to this cruel War. This Negotiation had no Effect, tho' it was particularly promoted by General *Cromwell* himself, who was very desirous to have a Peace concluded. The States had offer'd to acknowledge the *English* Sovereignty of the *British* Seas, and to pay three hundred thousand Pounds to the *English* Common-wealth; but finding this was not likely to succeed, they apply'd themselves (as we are told) more directly to General *Cromwell*, promising him vast Sums, if he would venture to depose and dissolve the Parliament.

The Dutch  
desire  
Peace.

HOWEVER this was, the General and his Officers still continu'd their Complaints against the The General and his Officers continue their Parliament; and Petitions, Addresses, and Re-complaints were daily presented from the Army, "For the Payment of their Arrears, the putting an end to this Parliament, and summoning a more equal Representative; which they told them would be the most popular Action they could perform." Some of the officers were indeed very much concern'd at these Proceedings, and openly protested against them. Major *Streater* was so bold as to declare, That the General intended to set up himself, and that it was a betraying of their most glorious Cause, for which so much Blood had been spilt:" But *Harrison*, who was one of the Leaders of that Sect now known by the name of *Fifth-Monarchy Men*, told him, He is assur'd, the General did not seek himself in it,

1653. it, but did it to make Way for the Rule of Jesus, that he might have the Scepter. To whom the Major thus reply'd, That unless Jesus came very suddenly, he would come too late.

The Proceedings of the House on this Occasion.

THE Parliament being very sensible of these Proceedings, a great Debate arose thereupon in the House; where several of the Members, out of Justice, Reason, or a foreseen Necessity, appear'd to be for a Dissolution, and a new Representative to be chosen; but in the End it was declar'd, That the Dissolution of the Parliament, was too high a Matter for any private Persons to meddle with; and to give a timely check to any farther Presumption of that Nature, a Committee was appointed to prepare an Act of Parliament with all possible Expedition, " For filling up of their House, and for settling their Qualifications; and to declare it High-Treason for any Man to propose or contrive the changing of the present Government."

General Cromwell holds a Consultation thereupon.

GENERAL Cromwell perceiving how unwilling they were to part with their Power and Authority, which they had so long enjoy'd, on the 19th of April, held a Consultation with the chief of his Friends in the Parliament and Army, at his Lodgings in Whitehall, to consider of some Expedient for the present carrying on of the Government of the Common-wealth, and putting a Period to the Parliament. Some few, particularly Sir Thomas Widdrington and Commissioner Whitelock, declar'd what a dangerous Thing it was to dissolve the Parliament, and how difficult it would be to erect any other Form of Government: But the General and most of his Officers with several Members of the House, deliver'd their Opinion, That it was necessary to take some new Measures, and that it was not fit the present Assembly of Parliament should be permitted to prolong their own Power. The Conference

lasted

lasted till late at Night, when without coming to any Conclusion, the Meeting was adjourn'd to the next Morning. Most of them being then again met, the Point in Debate was, "Whether forty Persons or about that Number of Parliament Men and Officers of the Army, should be nominated by the Parliament, and empower'd for managing the Affairs of the Common-wealth, till a new Parliament should meet, and so the present Parliament be forthwith dissolv'd." The Lord General being inform'd during this Debate, that the Parliament was fitting, and that it was hoped they would put a Period to themselves, which would be the most honourable Dissolution for them; he thereupon broke off the Meeting, and the Members of Parliament that were with him, left him at his Lodgings and went to the House; where, contrary to their Expectation, instead of coming to any Resolutions of dissolving, they found them in Debate of an Act, the which would occasion other Meetings of them again, and prolong their Sitting.

**COLONEL Ingoldsby** came back to the General, and inform'd him what the House was upon: At which the General, who expected they should have meddled with no other Business, but putting a Period to their own sitting without any more delay, was so enrag'd, that he immediately commanded some of the Officers to fetch a Party of Soldiers, with which marching directly to Westminster, he plac'd some of them at the Door, some in the Lobby, and others on the Stairs. Himself going into the House, first address'd himself to his Friend St. John, and told him, *That he then came to do that which griev'd him to the very Soul, and what he had earnestly with Tears, pray'd to God against: Nay, That he had rather be torn in Pieces than do it: But that there was*

1653. was a Necessity laid upon him therein, in order to the Glory of God, and the Good of the Nation. Then he sat down and heard their Debates for some Time; after which calling to Major-General *Harrison*, who was on the other Side of the House, to come to him, he told him, That he judg'd the Parliament ripe for a Dissolution, and this to be the Time of doing it. *Harrison* answer'd, Sir, the Work is very great and dangerous, therefore I desire you seriously to consider of it, before you engage in it. You say well, reply'd the General; and thereupon sat still for about a quarter of an Hour; and then said again to *Harrison*, This is the Time, I must do it. And so standing up on a sudden, he bad the Speaker leave the Chair, and told the House, That they had sat long enough, unless they had done more good; that some of them were Whoremasters (looking then towards *Harry Martin* and *Sir Peter Wentworth*;) that others of them were Drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust Men, and scandalous to the Profession of the Gospel; and that it was not fit they should sit as a Parliament any longer, and therefore he must desire them to go away. He charg'd them with not having a Heart to any Thing for the publick Good, and espousing the Interest of Presbytery and the Lawyers, who were the Supporters of Tyranny and Oppression; and accused them of an Intention to perpetuate themselves in Power. When some of the Members began to speak, he stepped into the midst of the House and said, Come, come, I will put an End to your Prating: Then walking up and down the House he cry'd out, You are no Parliament, I say you are no Parliament; and stamping with his Feet, he bad them for shame be gone, and give Place to better Men. Upon this Signal the Soldiers entered the House, and he bad one of them, Take away that Fool's Bauble, the Mace; and *Harrison* taking the Speaker by the Arm, he came down. The

(as *Ludlow* informs us) the General addressing himself again to the Members, who were about a hundred, said, '*Tis you that have forc'd me to this, for I have fought the Lord Night and Day, that he would rather slay me, than put me upon the doing of this Work.* And then seizing on all their Papers, he turn'd them all out of the House; and having caus'd the Doors to be lock'd up, went away to *Whitehall*. "Thus, as *Whitelock* observes, it pleased God, that this Assembly famous throughout the World for its Undertakings, Actions and Successes, having subdu'd all their Enemies, were themselves overthrown and ruined by their Servants; and those whom they had rais'd, now pull'd down their Masters: An Example never to be forgotten, and scarce to be parallel'd in any Story! By which all Persons may be instru&ted, how uncertain and subject to change all worldly Affairs are; how apt to fall when we think them highest."

THE General being return'd to *Whitehall*, inform'd the Officers of his Party who were there assembled, of what he had done; telling them, that they needed not to trouble themselves any farther about it. Some of those Officers who dislik'd that the General had done, particularly Colonel *Key*, repair'd to him to desire Satisfaction in that proceeding, apprehending the Way they were now tending to Ruin and Destruction. To these he made large Pretensions to Honesty and Concern for the publick Weal, professing himself resolv'd to do much more good, and with more Expedition than could be expected from the Parliament. This put most of them to Silence, and made them willing to wait for a farther Discovery of his Design, before they proceeded so far as to break with him.

HAVING thus dissolv'd the Parliament, *Cromwell* went the same Day in the Afternoon

1653. noon to the Council of State, attended by the Major-Generals *Lambert* and *Harrison*; and as he enter'd, spoke thus to them, *Gentlemen, if you are met here as private Persons, you shall not be disturb'd; but if as a Council of State, this is no Place for you: And since you cannot but know what was done at the House in the Morning, so take Notice that the Parliament is dissolv'd.* Serjeant *Bradshaw* boldly answer'd; *Sir, we have heard what you did at the House in the Morning, and before many Hours all England will hear it: But, Sir, you are mistaken, to think that the Parliament is dissolv'd; for no Power under Heaven can dissolve them but themselves: Therefore take you Notice of that.* Some others also spoke to the same Purpose: But the Council finding themselves to be under the same Force, they all quietly departed.



T H



T H E  
L I F E  
O F  
OLIVER CROMWELL.

P A R T III.

Containing his Actions in the PRO-  
TECTORATE: From the Dissolu-  
tion of the Long Parliament, to his  
Death.

C H A P. I.

om the Dissolution of the Long Parliament,  
to the Meeting of Cromwell's First Parlia-  
ment.

**H**E formidable Body at *Westminster*, being thus forcibly dissolv'd, the Lord-General and his Party were very busy in consulting how to manage the Government, which by this time was fallen into their Hands. This single man made Cromwell Master of three Kingdoms; for tho' he did not take upon himself the

R

Title

1653. Title of *Protector*, till several Months after, yet his Power was in effect the same, from the very Moment that he succeeded in that bold Undertaking: Soon after which, he sent for Major Salloway and Mr. John Carew, and complain'd to them of the great Weight of Affairs that by this Means was fallen upon him; affirming, that the Thoughts of the Consequence thereof made him to tremble; and therefore desir'd them to free him from the Temptations that might be laid before him, and to that End to go immediately to the Chief Justice St. John, and Mr. Selden, and some others, and endeavour to persuade them to draw up some Instrument of Government, that might put the Power out of his Hands. To this Major Salloway answer'd, *The Way, Sir, to free you from this Temptation, is for you not to look upon your self to be under it, but to rest persuaded, that the Power of this Nation is in the good People of England as formerly it was.* This Answer was thought to be not very agreeable to the General, who now appointed a Meeting of the chief Officers of the Army to be at *Whitehall*, in order to deliberate what was proper to be done in this Emergency; and with their Advice, he, in the first Place

He and publish'd a Declaration of the Grounds and Reasons for their dissolving the late Parliament; which Council of Officers was to the following Effect:

“ THAT after God was pleas'd marvellously to appear for his People, in reducing of England and Scotland to so great a Degree of Peace, and England to perfect Quiet; where by the Parliament had Opportunity to give the People the Harvest of all their Labour, and Treasure, and to settle a due Liberty reference to civil and spiritual Things; unto they were oblig'd by their Duty, Engagements, and those great and wonderful Things God had wrought for them; they notwithstanding

“ sa-

" standing made so little Progress therein, that 1653.  
" it was Matter of much Grief to the good Peo-  
" ple of the Land; who thereupon apply'd them-  
" selves to the Army, expecting Redress  
" by their Means; who (tho' unwilling to med-  
"dle with the Civil Authority) agreed that such  
" Officers, as were Members of Parliament, should  
" move them to proceed vigorously in reforming  
" what was amiss in the Common-wealth, and  
" in settling it upon a Foundation of Justice and  
" Righteousness; which being done, it was hop'd  
" the Parliament would have answer'd their Ex-  
" pectations. But finding the contrary, they re-  
" new'd their Desires by an humble Petition in  
" August, 1652. Which produc'd no considerable  
" Effect, nor was any such Progress made there-  
" in, as might imply their real Intentions to ac-  
" complish what was petition'd for, but rather  
" an Averseness to the Things themselves, with  
" much Bitterness and Opposition to the People  
" of God, and his Spirit acting in them; insomuch  
" that the godly Party in Parliament were  
" render'd of no farther Use, than to counte-  
" nance the Ends of a corrupt Party, for effect-  
" ing their Desires of perpetuating themselves  
" in the Supreme Government. For obviating  
" these Evils, the Officers of the Army obtain'd  
" several Meetings with some of the Parliament,  
" to consider what Remedy might be apply'd to  
" prevent the same: But such Endeavours prov-  
" ing ineffectual, it became evident, that this  
" Parliament, through the Corruption of some,  
" the Jealousy of others, and the Non-attendance  
" of many, would never answer those Ends, which  
" God, his People, and the whole Nation expect-  
" ed from them; but that this Cause, which  
" God had so greatly bleſs'd, must needs languish  
" under their Hands, and by degrees be lost; and  
" the Lives, Liberties, and Comforts of his  
" R 2 " People

1653. " People be deliver'd into their Enemies Hands.  
" All which being sadly and seriously consider'd  
" by the honest People of the Nation, as well  
" as by the Army, it seemed a Duty incum-  
" bient upon us, who had seen so much of the  
" Power and Presence of God, to consider of  
" some effectual Means, whereby to establish  
" Righteousness and Peace in these Nations. And  
" after much debate, it was judged necessary,  
" that the supreme Government shold be by  
" the Parliament devolv'd upon known Persons,  
" fearing God, and of approved Integrity, for a  
" Time, as the most hopeful Way to counte-  
" nance all God's People, reform the Law, and  
" administer Justice impartially; hoping there-  
" by the People might forget Monarchy, and  
" understand their true Interest in the Elecit  
" of successive Parliaments; that so the Govern-  
" ment might be settled upon a right Basis  
" without Hazard to this glorious Cause, o  
" necessitating to keep up Armies for the De-  
" fence of the same. And being still resolv'd to  
" use all Means possible to avoid extraordinar  
" Courses, we prevailed with about twenty  
" Members of Parliament to give us a Confe-  
" rence; with whom we plainly debated the Ne-  
" cessity and Justice of our Proposals; the whic  
" found no Acceptance, but instead thereof,  
" was offer'd, That the Way was, to contin-  
" ue still this Parliament, as being that from whi  
" we might probably expect all good Things.  
" This being vehemently insisted on did more  
" confirm us in our Apprehensions, that not  
" my Love to a Representative, but the maki  
" ng Use thereof to recruit, and so to perpetuate  
" themselves, was their Aim in the Act they had  
" then under Consideration. For preventing  
" consummating whereof, and all the sad and  
" vil Consequences, which upon the Grounds  
" of

" forefaid must have ensued, and whereby at one <sup>1653,</sup>  
 " blow the Interest of all honest Men, and of  
 " this glorious Cause, had been endangered to  
 " be laid in the Dust, and these Nations embroil'd  
 " in new Troubles, at a Time when our Enemies  
 " abroad were watching all Advantages against,  
 " and some of them actually engag'd in War  
 " with us; we have been necessitated (tho'  
 " with much Reluctancy) to put an End to  
 " this Parliament. Then they promis'd to put  
 " the Government into the Hands of *Persons*  
 " of *approv'd Fidelity and Honesty*; and at last  
 " declar'd, That all Magistrates and Officers  
 " whatsoever shall proceed in their respective  
 " Places and Offices, and Obedience shall be paid  
 " to them as fully, as when the Parliament was  
 " sitting."

THIS Declaration was subscriv'd by the Lord-General, and his Council of Officers, *Whitehall, April 22d 1653.* Which Council of Officers and some others, being form'd in Imitation of the late Council of State, was compos'd of the thirty Persons following; *Cromwell, Fleetwood, Lambert, Lisle, Harrison, Desborough, Pickering, Wollesley, Ashley-Cooper, Hope, Hewson, Norton, Montague, Bennet, Stapeley, Sydenham, Tomlinson, Jones, Tichburn, Strickland, Cary, Howard, Broughton, Lawrence, Holister, Comptney, Major, St. Nicholas, Moyer, and Williams.*

THE Dissolution of the Parliament was generally very grateful and acceptable to the People; and this Declaration, being sent out into the Dominions of the Commonwealth, was answer'd by many Congratulations and Addresses from the Fleet, and Army, and People, promising to stand by the General and his Council Officers, and acknowledging the Justice of the late Action. The said Declaration was on the

1653. 30th Day of April seconded by this ensuing  
 which met with equal Submission and Obedience.

Another Declarati- " WHEREAS the Parliament being dissolv'd,  
 on. " Persons of approv'd Fidelity and Honesty are  
 " (according to the late Declaration of the 22d  
 " of April last) to be called from the several  
 " Parts of this Common-wealth to the supreme  
 " Authority; and although effectual Proceed-  
 " ings are and have been had, for perfecting  
 " those Resolutions; yet some convenient Time  
 " being requir'd for the assembling of those  
 " Persons, it hath been found necessary, for pre-  
 " venting the Mischiefs and Inconveniences  
 " which may arise in the mean while to the  
 " publick Affairs, that a *Council of State* be con-  
 " stituted, to take care of, and intend the Peace,  
 " Safety, and present Management of the Af-  
 " fairs of this Common-wealth; which being  
 " settled accordingly, the same is hereby de-  
 " clar'd and publish'd, to the end all Persons  
 " may take Notice thereof, and in their several  
 " Places and Stations, demean themselves peace-  
 " ably, giving Obedience to the Laws of the  
 " Nation as heretofore; in the Exercise and  
 " Administration whereof, as Endeavours shal  
 " be used that no Oppression or Wrong be  
 " done to the People, so a strict Account will  
 " be required of all such as shall do any thing  
 " to endanger the publick Peace and Quiet  
 " upon any Pretence whatsoever." Subscribed  
*O. Cromwell.*

THE Lord-General *Cromwell* having now in  
 effect the supreme Power in his Hands, the first  
 remarkable Passage, that befel him, was at Sea.  
 The Dutch had form'd mighty Expectations from  
 the late Revolutions in *England*, believing, the  
*English* would by this Means be brought to fall  
 together by the Ears, and so their Work would

be very easy with them. With these Hopes, notwithstanding their late Pretences to Peace, they with all imaginable Diligence, set out a greater Fleet to Sea, than they had done before; and *Van Trump* boasted he would fire the *English* Ships in their Harbours, and the *Downs*, before the *English* Fleet could get out. But the new Government, well knowing what Credit was to be given to the *Dutch* Protestations, of their sincere Love and Affection to the English Nation, &c. were not behind-hand with them, but did every Thing that might advance the Maritime Preparations; so that in *May* they sent out another gallant Fleet consisting of a hundred Ships of all Sorts, under the Command of *Monk* and *Dean* as Admirals, *Pen* as Vice-Admiral, and *Lawson* as Rear-Admiral. On the 2d of *June*, early in Victory over the *Dutch* at Sea. the Morning, they engag'd the *Dutch* Fleet under *Van Trump*, *De Ruyter*, *De Wit*, and the two *Evertsons*, consisting of a hundred and four Men of War, twelve Galliots, and nine Fireships. This Fight happen'd not far from the Coasts of Flanders, the beginning of which was so fatal, that at the first Broad-side of the Enemy, Admiral *Dean* was shot off almost in the Middle by a Cannon-Ball. The Fight continu'd till three in the Afternoon, when the Wind coming up contrary to the *English*, the *Dutch* fled, and were pursu'd by the lightest of the *English* Frigats. The next Morning, the two Fleets found themselves again near each other, but the Wind was so slack, that *Monk* could not come to engage the Enemy till about Noon; and then the Battle began again, and continu'd very hot on Both Sides, till ten at Night. The *English* Fleet charg'd the *Dutch* with so much Bravery and Resolution, that they put them into very great Disorder; so that tho' *Van Trump* fir'd on them to rally them, he could not procure above twenty

1653. ty Ships of his whole Fleet to stand by him  
 the rest making all the Sail they could away to  
 the Eastward: And the Wind blowing a fresh  
 Gale from the Westward, the *English* pursued  
 them with such Succeſs, that they sunk ſix of  
 their beſt Ships, blew up two others, and took  
 eleven, with thirteen hundred and fifty Prisoners  
 among whom were ſix of their principal Captains.  
 Towards the End of this Battle, Admiral *Blake*  
 came in with eighteen fresh Ships; and had no  
 the *Dutch* shelter'd themſelves between *Dunkirk*  
 and *Calais*, where 'twas not ſafe for the *Eng-*  
*liſh* to expoſe their great Ships, by reaſon of the  
 Sands, moſt of their Fleet had in all probabili-  
 ty been taken or deſtroy'd. The Loſs of the  
*English* was greateſt in their Admiral *Dean*: Be-  
 ſides him, there was but one Captain, and a  
 bout a hundred and fifty common Sea-men kill'd.  
 More were wounded, but they lost not one Ship.  
 Having put their Prisoners on Shoar, and le-  
 ſome of their Ships to be refitted, they return'd to  
 the Coast of *Holland*, where for ſome Time they  
 block'd up the *Dutch* in their own Harbour  
 and ply'd to and again betwixt the *Texel*, an  
 the *Uly*, to hinder Ships coming out from thence  
 to join with that Part of the *Dutch* Fleet who  
 was got into the *Wielings*, and to ſtop up the  
 Trade and Fishing.

**General Cromwell prepares for a new Parliament.** AT home, General *Cromwell* and his Council of Officers were in the mean Time very buſy preparing for a new kind of Parliament. They had resolv'd to ſummon ſelect Persons, to beominated by themſelves, out of every County; who ſhould be a Representative of the whole Nation. And the ſeveral Persons having been agreed upon, Letters from the General were thus directed each of them.

"FORASMUCH as upon the Dissolution of 1653.  
 "the late Parliament, it became necessary that <sup>the</sup>  
 "the Peace, Safety, and good Government of this His Form  
 "Common-wealth should be provided for; and of Sum-  
 "in Order thereunto, divers Persons fearing God, the Per-  
 "and of approv'd Fidelity and Honesty, are by sons nomi-  
 "My self, with the Advice of my Council of nated for  
 "Officers, nominated, to whom the great Charge that Pur-  
 "and Trust of so weighty Affairs is to be com-  
 "mitted; and having good Assurance of your  
 "Love to, and Courage for God, and the In-  
 "terest of this Cause, and of the good People  
 "of this Common-wealth: I *Oliver Cromwell*,  
 "Captain-General and Commander in Chief of  
 "all the Armies and Forces raised and to be  
 "raised within this Common-wealth, do hereby  
 "summon and require you, being one of the  
 "Persons nominated, personally to appear at the  
 "Council-Chamber at *Whitehall* within the Ci-  
 "ty of *Westminster*, upon the fourth Day of  
 "July, next ensuing the Date hereof, then and  
 "there to take upon you the said Trust, unto  
 "which you are hereby call'd, and appointed to  
 "serve as a Member of the County of — And  
 "hereof you are not to fail. Given under my  
 "Hand this eighth Day of June, 1653. O.  
*Cromwell.*"

BEFORE the Meeting of this Convention, se- Several  
 "veral other Acts of Authority were perform'd <sup>Acts of</sup> the Gene-  
 "by the General. On the 14th of June, he and ral and  
 "the Council of State put forth a Declaration, Council  
 "To invite all the good People in these Na- of State.  
 "tions to Thankfulness, and holy rejoicing in  
 "the Lord, for the late great Victory at Sea a-  
 "gainst the *Dutch*: And he appointed a Day  
 "or the Meeting of himself and his Council of  
 "Officers for that Purpose. Many People were the  
 "more pleas'd with this, because it was not a Com-  
 "mand impos'd on them, but only an Invitation  
 "to

1653. to keep a Day of publick Thanksgiving. On the 22d, that there might be no Interruption to the Administration of Justice, the General with the Council of State nominated the Judges for the Summer Circuit. And a few Days after, they pass'd an Order, forbidding all riotous Assemblies in the great Level of the Fens, and the throwing down of Fences and Inclosures there.



## C H A P. II.

*From the Meeting of his FIRST PARLIAMENT, to his being declar'd PROTECTOR by the Instrument of Government.*

*Cromwell's* **T**HE several Persons summon'd by General *Cromwell* to take upon them the supreme Authority, appear'd on the appointed Day July 4. about eleven Weeks after the Dissolution of the late Parliament, in the Council-Chamber at *Whitehall*, to the Number of above hundred and twenty. Being set round the Table, the General, attended by many of his Officers, standing about the middle of the Table made a Speech to them, " of the Fear of God, and the Honour due to his Name, " of Texts of Scripture; and remember'd their " of the wonderful Mercies of God to this Nation, and the continu'd Series of Providence by which he had appear'd in carrying his Cause, and bringing Affairs into that present glorious Condition, wherein they now were. Then he reminded them of the noble Action of the Army in the famous Battle of *W*o *c*efte

*His Speech to them.*

"*ceſter*, and of the Applications they had made  
"to the Parliament for a good Settlement of all  
"the Affairs of the Common-wealtheſt, the neg-  
"leſt whereof made it absolutely necessary to  
"dissolve it. Hence he shew'd them the Cauſe  
"of their Summons, and affur'd them by ma-  
"ny Arguments, ſome of which were taken  
"from Scripture, *That they had a clear Call to*  
"take upon them the ſupreme Authority of the  
"Common-wealtheſt. He ſaid, that he never look'd  
"to ſee ſuch a Day, when *Jesus Christ* ſhould  
"be ſo owned, as this Day was; and that he  
"had not allow'd himſelf in the Choice of one  
"Person, in whom he had not this good Hope,  
"*That there was Faith in Jesus Christ, and Love*  
"unto all his Saints and People." And conclud-  
ed with a very earnest Desire, " That great Ten-  
derness might be uſed towards all conſcientious  
Persons, of what Judgment foever they appear'd  
to be."

His Speech being ended, he deliver'd to them <sup>He by an</sup> Instrument engroſ'd in Parchment under his Inſtru-  
Hand and Seal, whereby, with the Advice of <sup>ment con-</sup>  
is Council of Officers, he did devolve and in- <sup>ſtitutes</sup> them the  
uſt the ſupreme Authority and Government of <sup>supreme</sup> Authority  
his Common-wealtheſt into the Hands of the Per- Authority  
ons then met; and declar'd, " That they, or  
any forty of them, were to be held and ac-  
knowledg'd the ſupreme Authority of the Na-  
tion, unto whom all Persons within the fame  
were to yield Obedience and Subjection: That  
they ſhould not ſit longer than the third of  
November, 1654. and three Months before  
their Diſſolution, ſhould make Choice of  
other Persons to ſucceſſ them; who were  
not to ſit longer than a Year, and to pro-  
vide for a like Succession in the Govern-  
ment."

THEN

1653. THEN the General and his Officers withdrew  
 and the Persons thus commission'd adjourn'd  
 themselves to the next Day, to meet in the  
 Parliament-House; where they kept a Fast, and  
 publish'd a Declaration, *To stir up the Godly  
 of the Nation to seek God for a Blessing upon their  
 Proceedings.* They chose Mr. Rouse, an old  
 Gentleman of Devonshire, who had been a Member  
 of the Long Parliament, to be their Speaker; resolv'd, that General Cromwell and his chief  
 Officers, Lambert, Harrison, Desborough, and  
 Thonlinson, should sit in the House as Members; and at once voted themselves to be the  
*Parliament of the Common-wealth of England*, and  
 that all Addresses should be made to them  
 under that Title. Then they appointed several  
 Committees, 1. To consider Matters touching the  
*Law.* 2. Touching Prisoners and Prisons. 3. For  
*Inspection into Treasuries, and easing publick Chal-  
 ges.* 4. For Ireland. 5. For Scotland. 6. For  
 the Army. 7. For Petitions. 8. To consider what  
 shall be offer'd about publick Debts, publick Frauds,  
 and Breaches of Trust. 9. For regulating Commissions  
 of the Peace, and for making Provision for  
 the Poor. 10. For Advance of Trade. 11. For  
 Advancement of Learning. And they referr'd  
 to a Committee to consider of the Laws that  
 hinder'd the Progress of the Gospel, that they  
 might be repeal'd. The chief Laws made by  
 this Assembly were these: One for punishing  
 seditious Sea-men: Another for marrying by Ju-  
 tices of the Peace and registering Marriage,  
 Births, and Burials; A third concerning the Plan-  
 tation of Ireland, settling the Lands there upon  
 Adventurers and Soldiers: A fourth for Payment  
 of some publick Debts.

*Acts  
 pass'd by  
 them.*

Their  
 Character by some, that these Gentlemen, many of whom  
 were Persons of Fortune and Knowledge, would

upon such a Summons, and from such Hands, 1653.  
take upon them the supreme Authority of this Nation. The Lord Clarendon informs us, that there were amongst them divers of the Quality and Degree of Gentlemen, who had Estates, and such a Proportion of Credit and Reputation, as could consist with the Guilt they had contract-ed: But he says, that much the major Part of them consisted of inferior Persons, of no Quality or Name, Artificers of the meanest Trades, known only by their Gifts in Praying and Preach-ing; which was now practised by all Degrees of Men, but Scholars, throughout the Kingdom. Ludlow gives them this Character: " Many of the Members of this Assembly had manifested a good Affection to the publick Cause; (*he means a Common-wealth:*) But some among them were brought in as Spies and Trepan-ners; who, tho' they had always been of the contrary Party, made the highest Pretensions to Honesty, and the Service of the Nation. This Assembly therefore being compos'd for the most Part of honest and well-meaning Persons, who having good Intentions, were less apt to suspect the evil Designs of others, thought themselves in full Possession of the Power and Authority of the Nation, &c." And others speak thus of them: " This very Parliament, which had indeed procur'd very beneficial Orders in Matters of lesser Moment, in the greater Concernments, had not so good Fortune. There was so much Confusion in their Counsels, such a Contrariety in their Opinions, such a Dissonancy in their A&tings, and Disparity in their Aims and Proje&tions, as that this Senate was more like a Monster with many Heads, than a well ordered grand Assembly or supreme Council." One Praise-God Arebones, a Leather-Seller in Fleet-street, was a very

1653. very busy Man in this Assembly; whence it has  
 the Name of *Barebone's Parliament*. It was also  
 called by some the *Little Parliament*; and from  
 an Order that none should be admitted into the  
 Service of the House, but such of whose re-  
 Godliness they were first satisfy'd, it was call'd the  
*Godly Parliament*.

*Jhn Lilburn* tried and acquitted.

UNDER this Change of Government, the furious *John Lilburn*, whose turbulent Spirit in the Time of the late Parliament had procur'd his Banishment, now finding their Power at an End came over into *England*, and very confidently address'd himself to General *Cromwell* for Protection. But the General well knowing of what Spirit *John* was, committed him to *Newgate*, and left him to the Law: Whereby he underwent strict Trial, in which he discover'd his Par and Subtlety by the Variety of his Pleas, and his invincible Temper by the Boldness of his Replies and by the Favour of the Jury was at last acquitted. This Person was of so undaunted and ungovernable a Temper, as can scarce be parallel'd in any Nation. He was whipp'd and pillory'd in the Time of the late King, and suffered three Years Imprisonment, till the Times turn'd when coming into Play again, he became a great Leveller, and violent Opposer of all that were uppermost. He obtained the Name of *Free-born John*, and had such an inveterate Spirit of Contradiction, that 'twas commonly said of him, *If the World was empty'd of all but himself, John would be against Lilburn, and Lilburn again John*. *Cromwell* kept him in Prison for seven Years after this; and he at last dy'd a Quaker.

*The Dutch again sue for Peace.*

THE *Dutch* were so humbled by the late Defeat, that they immediately took up a Resolution for Peace, and sent over to *England* a Messenger with a white Flag, and a Ambassador to prepare the Way for two Ambassadors to come over to the

that Purpose. General *Cromwell* was not averse to a Treaty, but would allow of no Cessation till it was concluded. This being known in *Holland*, they could not bear to think of suffering so long the Disadvantage of being besieg'd, and shut up in their Ports ; but with all possible Expedition prepar'd another Fleet, that might be sufficient to remove the *English* from thence ; so that in les than two Months after their Defeat, they had a Fleet of an hundred and twenty five Sail. From these wonderful Preparations, they had so great Confidence of Success, that they sent Admiral *Van Trump* out of the *Wielings* with ninety five Sail, before the rest were ready, which *De Wit* soon after brought up to him from the Texel.

ON the 29th of July, the *English* Scouts discovered *Van Trump's* Fleet ; of which they gave Notice, that the whole Fleet, which then lay about three Leagues off to Sea, might make up to engage them : But the Wind being against them, kept them from any Action, till about six in the Evening ; when about thirty nimble Frigates, (the rest being still a-Stern) began the Encounter, which continu'd till they were parted by the Night. The *Dutch* bore away towards the Texel, and being reinforc'd by the Ships under *De Wit*, which were the Prime of their Navy, thereon they chiefly rely'd, *Van Trump* immediately endeavoured to put all in a fighting Posture, designing to engage the next Day ; when the Wind being very high, the *English* Fleet, for fear of falling upon the Flats, stood out to Sea. This made many of the *Dutch* suppose that the *English* were flying ; insomuch that one of the Captains said to *Van Trump*, Sir, these Dogs durst not stand one Broadside from your Excellency ; You may see them plainly running home ; and therefore, my Lord, miss not the Opportunity. But *Van Trump*, who

1653. who had had sufficient Experience of the *English*,  
and knew the meaning of their standing off, gave  
him this short answer, *Do you look to your Charge;*  
*for if the English were but twenty Sail, I am sure*  
*they would fight us.* The next Morning proving  
fair, both Fleets prepar'd for the Battle; and about  
five a Clock, the *Dutch* having the Weather-gage,  
began the Fight somewhat at a Distance; but it was not long before both Fleets  
were desperately engag'd. The Sea was never  
adorn'd with a more gallant Sight in the Beginning  
of the Day, nor cover'd with a more dismal  
one in the latter End; and no Fight was ever  
carry'd on with more bloody Obsturacy and  
Rage, than this was for several Hours together.  
In the midst of this terrible Encounter, Admiral  
*Van Trump*, the Glory of the *Dutch* Nation, as  
he stood upon his Quarter-Deck with his Sword  
drawn, bravely encouraging his Men, being shot  
into the Heart with a Musquet-Ball, dropt down  
dead without speaking a Word. This struck such  
a Terror into the Enemy, and put them in such  
Confusion, that they fled and made all the Sail  
they could towards the *Texel*. About thirty of  
their Men of War were fired or sunk, and  
gaveat many Prisoners taken. The Victory was  
great, but cost the *English* dear; for eight of  
their brave Captains, with about four hundred  
Men were slain, and about seven hundred wounded  
tho' they lost but one Ship. This Victory was  
so acceptable to General *Cromwell's* Parliament  
that they appointed a Day of Thanksgiving for  
it, and ordered a Narrative of it to be publickly  
read; and gave several gold Chains to *Blake*,  
*Monk*, *Penn* and *Lawson*, for their good Service  
and a Gratuity to the rest of the Officers and  
Seamen, according to their Quality: And 'tis said  
that the Lord-General himself put the Chain  
and the Medal, with the Representation of

Sea-fight, about Monk's Neck ; and having invited him to Dinner, made him wear it all the while.

1653.  
In Holland, after this last Defeat, and the Loss They ap-  
of their brave Admiral, all Things were in great ply them-  
Confusion and Distra&tion : The common People selves to  
no longer obey'd their Government ; the Placarts the Coun-  
of the States-General were contemn'd, and they cil of State  
in Danger to be ruin'd and plunder'd by the ig- and to the  
norant and furious Rabble. They therefore with Parlia-  
all Submission apply'd themselves by their Am- ment for  
bassadors to the English Council of State ; but Peace, but  
from them they could obtain no other Terms of in vain.  
Peace, than a Coalition, Satisfaction for Dam-  
ages, and Security against the like for the future,  
and that the Dutch should take a Lease for twen-  
ty one Years for Fishing, and pay an annual Rent. The Council of State, being thus reso-  
lute, the Plenipotentiaries resolv'd to try what  
Terms of Peace might be had from the Parlia-  
ment : But here they were more confounded and  
perplex'd than before ; they found it was very diffi-  
cult to treat with, and impossible to prevail up-  
on these Men, who took the Dutch for the Out-  
works of Babylon, and look'd upon them as car-  
nal and worldly Politicians, and Enemies to the  
Kingdom of Christ, which they thought was now  
approaching. In this difficult Conjunction, the  
States met to consult what was fit to be done.  
It was the Opinion of Holland, never to enter in-  
to a Coalition with England, but that a strict  
league defensive should be propos'd ; that they  
ought to contract foreign Amities, particularly  
with France, and to equip out a Fleet with all  
expedition. The rest of the Provinces were for  
making a League with the Elector of Branden-  
burg, and other German Princes, and for assist-  
ing the Scots, many of whom were now rising  
under Major-General Middleton. But these Treas-  
ties

1653. ties were remote and dangerous, whilst their Necessities were present; for which reason they gave Orders to their Plenipotentiaries, " To protract time according as they saw Disorders to increase between Cromwell and his supreme Authority; to be ample in the generals concerning the Defence of the Reformed Religion, and the Household of Faith; to reject the Coalition to offer to enter into a strict and intimate League; but deal as tenderly as they could in Point of Reparation, Satisfaction, or Security."

THIS being all known to the Council of State it was communicated to the Parliament; whereupon said, " That it was no more than was prophesy'd in Scripture, and in Court to be expected, *That the Gentiles should rage and the Kings of the Earth set themselves against the Kingdom of Christ; but they should fall before him, and be broken in Pieces.*" And they resolv'd now to humble them, by imposing very hard and mortifying Articles upon them; that they seem'd to be in no better State, than

They before the Long Parliament was dissolv'd. treat privately with General Cromwell. this Extremity, the Dutch Plenipotentiaries made their Applications to the Lord-General Cromwell assuring him, " That in Case he would deposit the present Powers, and assume the Government to himself, they would be ready to accord with him, upon more moderate Terms, and enter into such a defensive Alliance, would secure him against all his foreign and domestick Enemies." The General found that the Proceedings of this Parliament, than all of his own chusing, were so uncommon and unaccountable in many Particulars, that none could judge of their Designs, or where they would end. And so upon both these Accounts he resolv'd to fix a Period to their Power; and the Means of

ing it were concert'd with *Rouse* the Speaker, and some of the General's select Friends in the House, who were to bring it to bear with as little Distur-  
ance as might be. 1653.

ACCORDINGLY on the 12th of December in the Morning, the Members, who were in the Secret, being met a little earlier than usual, it was mov'd in the House, *That the sitting of this Parliament any longer, would not be for the good of the Common-wealth, and that it would be fit for them to resign up their Powers into the Hands of the Lord-General.* This being seconded and urged by *Jdenham, Wolsey, and others,* the Members on the contrary Side, who were there, were much startled and spoke vehemently against it: Upon which, those who were for a Resignation, being apprehensive, that by delaying Time more might come to the House and out-vote them, present-  
mov'd, *That all who were for a Dissolution, would rise and walk out.* Accordingly, the Speaker and as many Members as would follow him, went with the Mace to Whitehall, and by a Writ-  
under their Hands, resign'd up their Pow-  
to the General. Above twenty of the Mem-  
bers, whereof Major-General *Harrison* was one, continuing still in the House, plac'd Mr. *Moyer* in the Chair, and fell to protesting against what he had done; but a Party of Soldiers was sent to turn them out, and so a Period was put to this Enthusiastick Assembly, after a Session of five months and eight Days.

By this Resignation, the politick *Cromwell*, He con-  
founded his Council of Officers, was once more suults with  
tess'd of the supreme Sovereign Power of the his Coun-  
non a ngdom; whereupon he thought fit to advise cil of Of-  
them, and with other Persons of Interest ficers.  
the Nation, *How this great Burden of govern-  
England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the  
ries therein, and the Navy at Sea, should be  
born;*

1653. born, and by whom. These soon resolv'd  
 That a Council of godly, able and discreet Persons should be named; and that the Lord-General should be chosen Lord Protector of the three Nations.

<sup>He is declared Protector by the Instrument of Government.</sup> UPON this, a large Instrument was drawn up entituled, *The Government of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland*; commonly call'd, *The Instrument of Government*. It consisted of forty two Articles, and was in Substance follows:

" THAT the supreme Legislative Author  
 " be, and reside in a single Person, and the Pe  
 " ple in Parliament; the Style of which Pe  
 " son to be *Lord Protector of the Common-wealth*  
 " of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The ex  
 " ecutive Power to be in the *Protector*, with  
 " Advice of his Council; the Number where  
 " not to exceed twenty one, nor be less than  
 " thirteen. All Proceedings to run in the Na  
 " and Stile of the *Lord Protector*; and all His  
 " ours, Offices, and Titles to be deriv'd from  
 " him; and that he may pardon all Offences  
 " Treason and Murder. The *Militia* in T  
 " of Parliament, to be in his and their Han  
 " but in the Intervals only in his, and his Co  
 " cil's. He and his Council to make War  
 " Peace with foreign Princes. Not to make  
 " new Laws, or abrogate old Ones without the  
 " sent of Parliament. A Parliament to be sum  
 " moned to meet at *Westminster* upon the first  
 " Day of September, 1654. and afterwards every  
 " third Year, and if need be, oftner, which  
 " Protector shall not dissolve without the Con  
 " sents of Parliament, till after five Months. The  
 " liament to consist of four hundred English  
 " be chosen according to the Proportions  
 " Numbers hereafter express'd, that is to say,  
 " For the County of Bedford, six; viz.

the Town of *Bedford*, one; for the County of *Bedford*, five. For the County of *Berks*, seven; *viz.* for the Borough of *Abingdon*, one; for the Borough of *Reading*, one; for the County of *Berks*, five, &c. (The Members for *Cornwall* were in this Instrument reduc'd to twelve; those for *Essex* were enlarg'd to sixteen; and the City of *London* was to chuse six.) The Members for *Scotland* were to be thirty, and the same Number for *Ireland*. The summoning the Parliament to pass under the Seal of the Common-wealth to the Sheriffs; and if the *Protector* omit or deny that, then the Commissioner of the Seal to be held under Pain of Treason to issue out such Writs; and in Case of failure in him, the High-Sheriffs. Such as are elected, to be return'd into the Chancery by the chief Magistrates (Sheriffs, Mayors, or Bailiffs) within twenty Days after the Election. If either the Sheriff, Mayor, or Bailiff make a false Return, or any ways procure an undue Election, let him be fin'd two thousand Pounds. Those who have born Arms against the Parliament to be uncapable of being elected, or giving their Vote for any Members to serve in the next Parliament, or in the three succeeding Triennial Parliaments; and *Irish Rebels* and *Papists* to be for ever uncapable. None to be elected under the Age of twenty one Years, nor unless he be a Man of good Conversation. None to have Votes in Elections, but such as are worth 200*l.* Sixty to make a *Quorum*. Bills presented to the *Protector*, if not assented to by him within twenty Days, to pass into Laws notwithstanding; provided they contain nothing contrary to this Instrument. A competent Revenue to be settled for the Maintenance of ten thousand Horse and Dragoons, and twenty thousand Foot in

1653. " England, Scotland, and Ireland, and for a convenient Number of Ships to guard the Seas  
" and upon abating any of the Forces by Land  
" or Sea, the Moneys to be brought to the Ex  
" chequer to serve sudden Occasions. The raising  
" of Money for defraying the Charge of the  
" present extraordinary Forces both at Land and  
" Sea, to be by Consent in Parliament, and no  
" otherwise; save only that the Protector, with  
" the Advice of his Council, shall have Power  
" until the Meeting of the first Parliament, to  
" raise Money for the Purposes aforesaid, and  
" also to make Laws and Ordinances for the  
" Peace and Welfare of these Nations; which  
" shall be in force, till the Parliament shall take  
" Order concerning the same. All forfeited  
" Lands unsold to belong to the Protector. The  
" Protectorate to be elective, but the Royal Family  
" to be excluded. Oliver Cromwell to be  
" the present Protector. All the great Offices  
" of the Common-wealth, such as Chancellor,  
" Keeper of the Seal, Treasurer, Admiral, G  
" vernours of Ireland and Scotland, &c. if they  
" become void in Time of Parliament, to be  
" supply'd with their Approbation, and in Inter  
" vals of Parliament with the Approbation of  
" the Council. The Christian Religion, as con  
" tain'd in the Holy Scriptures, to be the pub  
" lick Profession of these Nations; and those  
" that administer it to be maintain'd by the Pub  
" lick, but by some Way more convenient and less  
" liable to Envy than Tithes. None to be con  
" pell'd to consent to the publick Profession  
" Fine or any Punishment whatever, but only  
" by Persuasion and Arguments. None that prof  
" fess Faith in Christ, however otherwise they  
" differ, to be restrained from, but to be protec  
" ed in the Exercise of their Religion, so that  
" do not quarrel with and disturb others; the

" L

" Liberty not to extend to *Papery* or *Prelacy*. 1653.  
 " All Sales of Parliament to stand good. Ar-  
 " ticles of Peace to be kept. The Protectors  
 " successively, upon entering on their Charge,  
 " to swear to procure by all means the Peace,  
 " Quiet and Welfare of the Common-wealth,  
 " to observe these Articles, and to administer all  
 " Things ( to their Power ) according to the  
 " Laws, Statutes and Customs."

ALL Things being prepared, on the 16th of December, about three in the Afternoon, his Excellency, the Lord-General, went from White-hall to the Chancery Court, in the following Manner : The Commissioners of the Great Seal march'd first ; then the Judges and Barons in their Robes ; next to them the Council of the Common-wealth ; then the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of London : After them, came the Lord-General, attended with the chief Officers of the Army. In this Procession they ascended the Chancery-Court, where was set a rich Chair of State, with a large Cushion, and Carpets on the Floor. The General stood on the left Hand of it uncovered, till the foremention'd Instrument was read ; which his Excellency subscrib'd in the Face of the Court, and took an Oath in these Words :

" WHEREAS the major Part of the last Parliament ( judging that their sitting any longer, as then constituted, would not be for the Good of the Common-wealth ) did dissolve the same, and by a Writing under their Hands, dated the 12th Day of this instant December, resigned unto Me their Powers and Authorities : And whereas it was necessary thereupon, that some speedy Course should be taken for the Settlement of these Nations upon such a Basis and Foundation, as, by the blessing of God, might be lasting, secure Property, and answer

1653. " those great Ends of Religion and Liberty, so long contended for: And upon full and mature Consideration had of the Form of Government hereunto annexed, being satisfy'd, that the same, thro' Divine Assistance, may answer the Ends afore-mentioned; and having also been desired and advised, as well by several Persons of Interest and Fidelity in the Common-wealth, as the Officers of the Army, to take upon Me the Protection and Government of these Nations, in the Manner expressed in the said Form of Government; I have accepted thereof, and do hereby declare my Acceptance accordingly: And do promise in the Presence of God, that I will not violate or infringe the Matters and Things contained therein; but to my Power, observe the same, and cause them to be observ'd; and shall in all other Things, to the best of my Understanding, govern these Nations according to the Laws, Statutes and Customs, seeking their Peace, and causing Justice and Law to be equally administred."

THIS done, he sate down in the Chair cover'd; and the Commissioners deliver'd up the Great Seal to him, and the Lord-Mayor his Sword and Cap of Maintenance; which the *Protector* immediately return'd to them again. The Ceremony being over, the Soldiers with a Shout cry'd out, *God bless the Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland*. And so they went back to *Whitehall*, the Lord Mayor uncover'd carrying the Sword before his Highness. When they came into the *Banqueting House*, Mr. *Lockier* made an Exhortation to them and so the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Judges departed.

PRESENTLY after, the following Proclamation, 1653.  
set forth by the Council, was publish'd in the Palace-Yard, at the Old Exchange, and several other Places in London; and as soon as could be, throughout England, Scotland and Ireland.

"Whereas the late Parliament dissolving themselves, and resigning their Powers and Authorities, the Government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by a Lord Protector, and successive Triennial Parliaments, is now establish'd: And whereas Oliver Cromwell, Captain-General of all the Forces of this Common-wealth, is declar'd Lord Protector of the said Nations, and hath accepted thereof: We have therefore thought it necessary, (as we hereby do) to make Publication of the Premises, and strictly to charge and command all, and every Person and Persons, of what Quality and Condition soever, in any of the said three Nations, to take notice thereof, and to conform and submit themselves to the Government so establish'd. And all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, and other publick Ministers and Officers, whom this may concrrn, are required to cause this Proclamation to be forthwith publish'd in their respective Counties, Cities, Corporations, and Market-Towns; to the End none may have cause to pretend Ignorance in this Behalf." Upon this new Advancement, we are told, that Cromwell observ'd new and great State, and all Ceremonies and Respects were paid to him by all Sorts of Men, as to their Prince.

THUS, as has been observ'd, did this extraordinary Man, with so little Pains, mount himself into the Throne of three Kingdoms, without the Title of King, but with more Power and Authority than had ever been exercis'd by any preceding King; and receiv'd greater Marks of Respect

1653. spect and Esteem from all the Kings and Princes in Christendom, than had ever been shewn to any Monarch of these Nations ; which was the more wonderful, in that they all hated him, when they trembled at his Power, and courted his Friendship.



## C H A P. III.

*From his being declar'd PROTECTOR, to the meeting of his Second Parliament.*

His Condition and Proceedings at his first entering upon the Government. **C**R OMWELL being thus rais'd to the Power of a Monarch, proceeded in the Exercise of his Government, with the greatest Vigour and Industry. He and his Council setting forth several Ordinances ; among the rest, one declaring what Offences should be adjudg'd Treason, and another for repealing those Acts and Resolves of Parliament, which had formerly been made for subscribing to the *Engagement*. At his first assuming the Government, there were three great Parties in the Nation all against him, the *Episcopal Party*, the *Presbyterians*, and the *Republicans* : And it requir'd the greatest Dexterity and Skill to manage these very opposite Factions, and to prevent the ill Effects of the Plots and Conspiracies they were so ready to run into. He had only the Army to rely upon ; and that Enthusiaſtick Spirit he had taken so much Pains to raise among them, render'd them very intractable : So that he was forc'd to break and imprison many of his Officers ; and he flatter'd the rest as well as he could, going on in his old Way of long and dark Discourses, Sermons and Prayers.

His Management with the Army.

HE

HE was apprehensive of Assassination, and other Plottings from the *Cavalier Party*; as to the former of which, he took a Method that prov'd of great use to him: He would many Times openly declare, "That in a War, it was necessary, to return upon any Side, all the violent Things that any of the one Side did to the other; and this for the preventing greater Mischief, and for bringing Men to fair War: And that Assassinations were such detestable Things, that he would never begin them; but if any of the King's Party should endeavour to assassinate him, and fail in it, he would make an assassinating War of it, and destroy the whole Family." And he pretended he had Instruments to do this, whenever he should order it. This struck such a Terror, that it proved a better Security to him than his Guards. And whenever they were plotting against him, he had his Agents and Spies amongst them, to give him notice of their Preparations and Proceedings; by which Means all their Schemes were broken, and their Designs frustrate, before they could bring them to Perfection.

THE *Presbyterians* so dreaded the Fury of the Common-wealth Party, that they look'd upon Cromwell's turning them out to be a happy Deliverance for them: And to soften these the more, he assur'd them he would maintain a publick Ministry with all due Encouragement, which the Republicans were mostly against; and he joined them in a Commission with some *Independents* to be *Tryers* of all publick Preachers, who shoud, for the future be admitted to any Benefice. The Persons so commission'd did likewise dispose of all the Churches that were in the Gift of the Crown, of the Bishops, and of the Cathedral Churches. Nevertheless, when he perceiv'd that the *Presbyterians* began to take too much upon them,

1653.  
With the  
Cavaliers.

1653. them, to be uneasy under the Government or meddle in Civil Affairs, he found means to mortify them, and let loose against them those of the other Sects, who took Pleasure in disputing with their Preachers, and interrupting their religious Worship : And 'tis said, he was by many heard to glory, *That he had curb'd that insolent Sect, that would suffer none but it self.* So that they were forc'd to thank him for permitting them the Exercise of their religious Worship in their own Congregations.

With the Commonwealth Party. THE Republican Party were his greatest Enemies, and most bent on his Ruin, looking on him as the Person who had perfidiously broken all their Measures, and betray'd their glorious Cause. This Party therefore he study'd by all means to divide among themselves, and to set the Fifth-Monarchy Men, and other Enthusiasts, against those who proceeded only upon the Principles of Civil Liberty ; such as *Algernoon Sidney, Henry Nevill, Martin, Ludlow, Wildman, and Harrington.*

As to *Vane* and his Party, who were likewise call'd *Independents*, they indeed, from the time they were turn'd out of the long Parliament, retir'd quietly into the Country, where they endeavour'd to prejudice their Neighbours against the present Government, and yet manag'd themselves with so much Caution, as not to disturb the Quiet of the Nation, nor give the Protector any great Advantage against them.

THE Levellers, many of whom had been the most active *Agitators* in the Army, were the most furious and desperate of all the Commonwealth Party. These from the time that the General assum'd the Title of *Protector*, which was to them as odious as that of *King*, profess'd a mortal Hatred to his Person ; and he knew very well that these Men, as well as the last mention'd, had

great

1653.

great Credit in his Army, and with some of the chief Officers ; so that he more really dreaded them, than all the King's Party, and subtilly colour'd many of the Preparations he made against them, as if they were design'd against the other. The Fifth-Monarchy Men seem'd to be in daily Expectation of the coming of King *Jesus*, and the Protector found it no easy Matter to give them Satisfaction, since his assuming the Government after this manner, look'd like a step to Kingship, which they represented as the great Anti-Christ, which hinder'd Christ's being set on his Throne. To these Men he would say with many Tears, " That he would rather have taken a Shepherd's Staff than the Protectorship, since nothing was more contrary to his Genius, than a shew of Greatness : But he saw it was necessary at that time, to keep the Nation from falling into extreme Disorder, and from becoming open to the Common Enemy ; and therefore he only stept in between the Living and the Dead, in that Interval, 'till God should direct them on what Bottom they ought to settle ; and then he would surrender the heavy Load lying upon him with a Joy equal to the Sorrow with which he was affected, while under that shew of Dignity." He would also carry himself with great Familiarity towards these Men, and enter into the Terms of their old Equality, shutting the Door, and making them sit down covered by him, that they might see how little he car'd for those Distances, which for Form's sake he was forc'd to keep up with others ; and their Discourse commonly ended in a long Prayer. Thus, with much ado, he pretty well manag'd the *Enthusiasts* of the Commonwealth Party. As to the other *Republicans*, many of whom were inclin'd to Deism, he call'd them the *Heathens*, and acknowledg'd he could not so easily work upon them. He had some

Chap-

1653. Chaplains of all sorts, and became at length more gentle towards the Episcopal Party, who had their Meetings in several Places about *London*, without being molested by him. In the End, even the *Roman Catholicks* courted him ; and he with wonderful Art carry'd Things farther with all Parties than was thought possible, considering the great Difficulties he had to encounter with.

His first  
Council. THAT he might the better manage the several Factions he stood most in awe of, he made choice of the most active and leading Men into his Council, by whose Influence he had the guiding of all the rest of each Party. The first Persons nominated to be of his Council, pursuant to the *Instrument of Government*, were, Major-General *Lambert*, Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, Colonel *Montague* (afterwards made Earl of *Sandwich* by King Charles II.) Philip Lord Viscount *Lisle* (since Earl of *Leicester*) Colonel *Desborough*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* (after Earl of *Shaftsbury*) Sir *Charles Woolfley*, Major-General *Skippon*, Mr. *Strickland*, Colonel *Sydenham*, Colonel *Jones*, Mr. *Rouse*, Mr. *Lawrence*, and Mr. *Major*; in all Fifteen.

He sets  
out a  
Procla-  
mation. ON the 21st of December, a Proclamation was publish'd by his Highness, with the Advice and Consent of his Council, in the following Terms: "Oliver, Lord " Protector of the Common-wealth of *England*, " *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, considering, That where- " as the Exercise of the chief Magistracy, and " the Administration of Government, within the " said Common-wealth is Invested and Established " in his Highnes, assisted with a Council; and " lest thereupon the settled and ordinary Course " of Justice in the Common-wealth (if Remedy " were not provided) might receive Interruption; " his Highness, in his Care of the State and pub- " lic Justice thereof, (reserving to future Consi- " deration the Reformation and Redress of any " Abuses

" Abuses by Misgovernment, upon better Knowledge taken thereof) is pleased, and doth hereby expressly signify, declare, and ordain, by and with the Advice and Consent of his Council, (who have Power, until the meeting of the next Parliament, to make Laws and Ordinances for the Peace and Welfare of these Nations, where it shall be necessary; which shall be binding and in Force, until Order shall be taken in Parliament concerning the same) That all Persons, who on the Tenth Day of this Instant December, were duly and lawfully possessed of any Place of Judicature, or Office of Authority, Jurisdiction, or Government, within this Commonwealth, shall be, and shall so hold themselves continued in the said Offices and Places respectively, as formerly they held and enjoy'd the same, and not otherwise, until his Highness's Pleasure be farther known: And all Commissions, Patents, and other Grants, which respect or relate unto the doing and executing of publick Justice, and all Proceedings of what Nature soever in Courts of Common-Law or Equity, or in the Court of Admiralty, or by Commissioners of Sewers, shall stand and be in the same and like Force to all Intents and Purposes, as the same were on the said Tenth Day of this Instant December, until farther Order given by his Highness therein: And that in the mean time (for preservation of the publick Peace, and necessary proceedings in Matters of Justice, and for Safety of the State) all the said Persons, of whatsoever Place, Power, Degree, or Condition, may not fail, every one severally, according to his respective Place, Office, or Charge, to proceed in the Performance and Execution of all Duties thereunto belonging, as formerly appertaining to them, and every of them, whilst the former Government was " in

1653.

1653. "in being. Given at Whitehall this 21<sup>st</sup> Day of  
 December, in the Year of our Lord, 1653."

Several Ordinances pass'd by him.

ON the 27<sup>th</sup>, the Lord Protector and his Council pass'd an Ordinance, for continuing the Excise and the Commissioners: Another, for continuing the Act for Redemption of Captives: And a third, for the alteration of several Names and Forms, used heretofore in Courts, Writs, Grants, Patents, Commissions, &c. and settling Proceedings in Courts of Law and Equity. And shortly after, another Ordinance was pass'd, appointing a Committee of the Army, and Treasurers at War, as formerly. These and a great many other Ordinances were pass'd by the Lord Protector and his Council, before the meeting of the Parliament. His Highness apply'd himself very closely to Business, and was indefatigable in the Management of the publick Affairs.

His magnificent Entertainment in the City.

ALL Things seeming to favour the Protector and his Government, both at Home and Abroad, he was invited by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, to dine at *Grocers-Hall* on the 8<sup>th</sup> Day of February, being *Ashwednesday*. Accordingly he rode thither in great State, the Streets being rail'd on both Sides, and the Rails cover'd with blue Cloth, and the several Companies in their Liveries standing all the Way, according to their Superiority, with the City Banner and Streamers of the respective Companies set before them. The Lord Mayor *Viner*, with the Aldermen in Scarlet, and Gold Chains, rode to *Temple-Bar*; where meeting his Highness with his Train, he deliver'd up the Sword to him, and after a short Congratulatory Speech, they proceeded to *Grocers-Hall* in the following Manner: The City Marshal, with some other Officers, march'd first; then six Trumpets, and after them his Highnes's Life-Guard: next, eight Trumpets more, follow'd by

the

the City-Streamers: then the Aldermen, and the two Sheriffs after them: Then his Highness's Heralds, with rich Coats, adorn'd with the Arms of the Common-wealth. After them, the Mace and Cap of Maintenance were carried before the Lord Mayor, who carry'd the Sword bare-headed before his Highness the Lord *Protector*, who follow'd with twelve Foot-men in grey Liveries laced with Silver, and other Ornaments. After the *Protector* rode Major-General *Skippon*, with the rest of the Council, and the great Officers of the Army. Being come to *Grocers-Hall*, the Recorder made a Speech to his Highness, declaring, "How happy that Ci-  
ty did account themselves under his auspicious Government, and also in the Enjoyment of his Presence with them that Day." Then he was feasted in a most splendid and magnificent Manner; and before his Departure he knighted the Lord Mayor with as much Grace as if he had been King. And now Addresses were presented to the Lord *Protector* from all Parts of the three Nations, congratulating his Accession to the Government: And several foreign Ministers came over to him, acknowledging his Power, courting his Alliance, and giving him his Title of *Hughness*.

AND now the Lord *Protector* concluded the Peace with the Dutch, having brought them to accept of such Conditions as he thought fit to give them; among which one was, *That they with the* *should not permit any of the King's Party, or any Dutch.* *Enemy of the Common-wealth of England, to reside within their Dominions*; and another, which was contain'd in a secret Article, to which the Great Seal of the States was affixed, whereby they oblig'd themselves, "Never to permit the Prince of Orange to be their Stadholder, General or Admiral; and also to deliver up the

Addresses  
and Em-  
bassies to  
him.

He con-  
cludes a  
Peace.

1654. "Island of Polerone in the East-Indies, which  
 they had taken from the English in the Reign  
 of King James, into the Hands of the Eng-  
 lish East-India Company; and to pay a good  
 Sum of Money for the old barbarous Violence  
 exercis'd towards the English at Amboyna;"  
 for which the two last Kings could not obtain  
 any Satisfaction. And thus about the Beginning  
 of April, the whole Peace was concluded between  
 the Lord Protector and the States General,  
 with all the Advantages to himself he could  
 desire.

He makes several Promotions. THE Lord Protector, according to the Power given him by the Instrument of Government, supply'd the Benches of the Courts at Westminster, with the ablest of the Lawyers, whom he had invited to the publick Service. Mr. Maynard, Twisden, Nudigate, Windham, &c. were made Serjeants at Law; and Mr. Matthew Hale one of the Justices of the Common-Pleas, &c. Mr. John Thurloe, who had been Secretary to the Chief-Justice St. John, when he was Ambassador at the Hague, was advanc'd to the Office of Secretary of State. And to keep the other two Nations in Order and Obedience, his Highness sent General Monk back again into Scotland, and his youngest Son Henry Cromwell into Ireland, whom he made his Lieutenant of that Kingdom.

He is fear'd and nius in the Management of Affairs at Home, courted so his Power and Policy were more and more by foreign observ'd, and reverenc'd Abroad; and all Nations now contended, by their Ambassadors, which should render themselves most acceptable to him.

Denmark had the Favour of being taken into the Dutch Treaty, upon the good Terms of making the States responsible for one hundred and forty thousand Pounds, to repair the Damage

image which the *English* suffered from the *Danes*. 1654.  
 About the same Time, by the Negotiation of his Ambassador *Whitelock*, he made a firm Alliance with the Kingdom of *Sweden*. He forc'd *Portugal* to send an Ambassador to beg Peace, and to submit to make Satisfaction for the Offence they had committed in receiving Prince *Rupert*, by the Payment of a great Sum of Money; and brought even the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, to sue for his Alliance: To which Purpose, the Ambassador of the former, on the 29th of *March*, addressed himself thus to him:

" YOUR most serene Highnes has already re-  
 " ceiv'd some principal Assurances of the King *French*  
 " my Master, of his Desire to establish a per- Ambassa-  
 " fect Correspondency betwixt his Dominions *Speech to*  
 " and *England*. His Majesty, this Day, gives him.  
 " to your Highnes some publick Demonstra-  
 " tion of the same; and his sending his Ambaf-  
 " sador to your Highness, does plainly shew,  
 " that the Esteem which his Majesty makes of  
 " your Highnes, and Interest of his People,  
 " have more Power in his Councils than many  
 " Considerations, that would be of great Con-  
 " cernment to a Prince less affected with the one  
 " and the other. This Proceeding, grounded  
 " upon such Principles, and so different from  
 " what is only guided by Ambition, renders  
 " the Amity of the King my Master as confi-  
 " derable for its Firmness as its Utility; for  
 " which Reason it is so eminently esteem'd and  
 " courted by all the greatest Princes and Poten-  
 " tates of the Earth. But his Majesty commu-  
 " nicates none to any with so much Joy and  
 " Chearfulness, as to those whose virtuous A&ts  
 " and extraordinary Merits render them more  
 " conspicuously famous, than the Largeness of  
 " their Dominions. His Majesty is sensible, that  
 " all those Advantages do wholly reside in your

1654. " Highness ; and that the divine Providence, after  
 so many Calamities, could not deal more favourably with these three Nations, nor cause them to forget their past Miseries with greater Satisfaction, than by submitting them to so just a Government. And since it is not sufficient for the compleating of their happiness, to make them enjoy Peace at Home, because it depends no less on good Correspondency with Nations Abroad ; the King my Master does not doubt but to find also the same Disposition in your Highnes, which his Majesty here expresses in his Letters. After so many Dispositions expressed both by his Majesty and your Highness, towards the Accommodation of the two Nations, there is Reason to believe, that their Wishes will be soon accomplish'd. As for me, I have none greater, than to be able to serve the King my Master, with the good Pleasure and Satisfaction of your Highness ; and that the Happiness I have to tender to your Highness the first Assurances of his Majesty's Esteem, may give me Occasion, by my Services, to merit the Honour of your gracious Affection."

He makes an Union to unite the three Nations into one Commonwealth. Accordingly, with consent of his Council, he made an Ordinance, April the 12th, declaring, " How he had taken into Consideration, that the People of Scotland ought to be united with the People of England, into one Commonwealth, and under one Government ; and had found, that in December 1651, the Parliament then sitting had sent Commissioners into Scotland, to invite the People of that Nation unto such a happy Union ; who proceeded so far therein, that the Shires and Boroughs did accept of the said Union, and assent thereto :

" unto : For the compleating and perfecting 1654.  
 " which Union, he now ordain'd, That all the  
 " People of Scotland, and of all the Dominions and  
 " Territories thereunto belonging, should be incorpo-  
 " rated into one Common-wealth with England ;  
 " and in every Parliament to be held successively  
 " for the said Common-wealth, thirty Persons should  
 " be call'd from, and serve for Scotland, &c." And shortly after, another Ordinance was made for a like Distribution of thirty Members from Ireland, to serve in the Parliament at Westminster.

**A**BOUT this Time several Persons were apprehended, and charg'd with a Conspiracy to murder the Lord Protector as he should be going to Hampton-Court, to seize the Guards, the Tower of London, and the Magazines, and to proclaim the King. The chief of these were Mr. Somerset Fox, Mr. John Gerard, and Mr. Vowel; who being tried by a High Court of Justice, and condemn'd, Fox, who confess'd much of what was alledg'd against him, had the Benefit of a Reprieve; but Gerard was beheaded on Tower-hill, and Vowel hanged at Charing-Cross; both of them denying what they were accus'd of, and dying with great Magnanimity and Resolution.

**O**N the same Day, there was another Execution of an extraordinary Nature: Don Pantaleon <sup>tugal Am-</sup> bastador's <sup>Brother</sup> Sa, the Portugal Ambassador's Brother, a Knight of Malta, and a Person eminent in many great Actions, commits who out of Curiosity to see England, came over a Riot, with the Ambassador, happen'd to have a Quarrel in the New-Exchange with the foientioned Mr. Gerard; to revenge which, he went thither the next Day, with Servants arm'd with Swords and Pistols; where they kill'd another Man, whom they took to be Mr. Gerard, and hurt and wounded several others. Upon this there was rais'd a great Tumult, and the Portuguese flying to the

1654. Ambassador's House, the People came flocking thither from all Parts to seise the Murderers. Cromwell being inform'd of the Matter, sent an Officer, with a Party of Soldiers, to demand and apprehend them; who more especially demanded of the Ambassador the Person of his Brother, threatening, if he was not deliver'd up, to break open the House, and take him out by Force. The Ambassador insisted upon the Privilege due to his House by the Law of Nations, and desir'd Time to send to the *Protector*, to whom he made Complaint of the Violence done to him, and requested an Audience. His Highness sent him Word, "That a Gentleman had been murdered, " and others wounded, and that *Justice must be satisfied*; requiring, that all Persons concern'd " might be deliver'd up to his Officer; without " which, if he should withdraw his Soldiers, the " People would execute Justice, by a Way for " which he would not be answerable: But this " being done, he should have an Audience, and " all the Satisfaction it was in his Power to " give." The Ambassador finding it in vain to contend, and the multitude encreasing their Cry, *That they would pull down the House*, he was to his great Grief forc'd to deliver up his Brother with the rest, who were all sent Prisoners to Newgate. The Ambassador was most earnest in his Solicitations for his Brother, being willing the others should be left to the Law; but all the Answer he could have, was, *That Justice must be done*. And Justice was done to the utmost; for being all try'd by a Jury of half English and half Foreigners, as many as were found guilty, and among them the Ambassador's Brother, were condemn'd to die. All were hang'd at Tyburn, except Don Pantaleon; who immediately after the Execution of Gerard, was convey'd from Newgate to Tower-Hill, in a mourning Coach and

He is con-  
demn'd  
and exe-  
cuted.

six Horses, attended by several of his Brother's Retinue; and there on the same Scaffold lost his Head, with as much Terror and Dejection of Spirit, as Gerard had done with Courage and Resolution. This mightily rais'd the Opinion of the Protector's Justice, as well as of his Power. And 'tis very remarkable, that on the very Day of this Execution, the *Portugal* Ambassador was oblig'd to sign the Articles of Peace between the two Nations; whereupon he immediately went out of Town.

AND here Dr. *Welwood* remarks, " That Dr. *Welwood's Re-*  
 " whatever Reason the House of *Austria* had *mark up-*  
 " to hate the Memory of *Cromwell*, yet his *on it.*  
 " causing the *Portugal* Ambassador's Brother to  
 " be executed, notwithstanding his Plea of being  
 " a publick Minister as well as his Brother, was  
 " near twenty Years after *Cromwell's Death*,  
 " brought as a Precedent by the Emperor, to  
 " justify his arresting and carrying off the Prince  
 " of *Furstenburgh* at the Treaty of *Cologne*, not-  
 " withstanding his being a Plenipotentiary for the  
 " Elector of that Name. And in the printed  
 " Manifesto published by the Emperor upon that  
 " Occasion, this Piece of *Cromwell's Justice* is re-  
 " lated at large."

THE Lord Protector knowing, that tho' he had obtain'd the Government, it was not confirm'd to him by the People, resolv'd, in Pursuance of the *Instrument of Government*, to summon a Parliament to meet at *Westminster* on the 3d of *September*; and accordingly order'd Writs to be issued out for the Election of Members to serve in Parliament, after the Manner laid down in the said *Instrument*. It was his greatest Care how to manage this Assembly, so that they might proceed according to his own Desires; but tho' he had a great Influence upon the People, and a great Awe upon the Sheriffs and Magistrates,

1654. and brought the Tryal of Elections into a Committee of his own Council, before the Opening of the Parliament, yet it prov'd not for his Purpose; as we shall see in the following Chapter.



## C H A P. IV.

*His Second PARLIAMENT.*

The Opening of  
his second  
Parliament.

**O**N the third Day of September, tho' it happen'd to be Sunday, the Lord Protector, who reckon'd that his fortunate Day, would have the Parliament open'd: And so the Members, after hearing a Sermon at *Westminster-Abbey*, attended his Highness in the *Painted Chamber*; where he made a Speech to them, shewing the Cause of their Summons; after which, they went to their House, and adjourn'd to the next Day. The Protector then rode in State from *Whitehall* to *Westminster-Abbey*, some hundreds of Gentlemen and Officers going before uncover'd, and next before the Coach, his Pages and Lacqueys richly cloathed: On the one Side of his Coach, went *Strickland*, one of his Council, and Captain of his Guards, with the Master of the Ceremonies, both on Foot; and on the other Side, walk'd *Howard*, another Captain of the Guard. His Son *Henry* and *Lambert* sat with him in the Coach bareheaded. After the Coach came *Claypole*, Master of the Horse, with a gallant led Horse, adorn'd with the richest trappings; and next after him, the Commissioners of the Great Seal, and of the Treasury, and divers of the Council in Coaches, and the Ordinary Guards. Being come to the *Abbey-Door*, his Highness alighted; and the Officers of the Army and the Gentle-

men

men went first, next them four Maces, then the Commissioners of the Seal, *Whitelock* carrying the Purse, and *Lambert* the Sword before him. His Highness was seated over against the Pulpit, and the Members of Parliament plac'd themselves on both Sides of him. After the Sermon, which was preach'd by Mr. *Thomas Goodwin*, his Highness went in the same Equipage to the *Painted Chamber*; where being seated in a Chair of State set upon Steps, the Members sitting upon Benches round about, all bare, his Highness put off his Hat, and made a long and subtle Speech to them, which was in Substance as follows:

HE told them " the Danger of the *Levelling* His  
" Principles, and of the *Fifth-Monarchy* Opini-Speech to  
" ons, and of the *Form of Godliness*, and the the Mem-  
" great Judgment that had been upon this Na-  
" bers.  
" bition by ten Years civil War. That the two  
" Pretensions, *Liberty of the Subject*, and *Liberty*  
" of *Conscience* (two as glorious Things, and  
" as much to be contended for, as any Gift God  
" hath given us) were brought in to patronize  
" those Evils. Nay, these Abominations swelled  
" to that height, that the Ax was laid to the Root  
" of the Ministry, as *Babylonish* and *Antichristian*:  
" And as the Extremity was great before, so  
" that no Man, tho' well approv'd and having  
" a good Testimony, might preach, if not or-  
" dain'd; so now on the other Hand, they will  
" have Ordination put a Nullity upon the Cal-  
" ling."

" I conceive in my very Soul, said he, that  
" many of the *Fifth-Monarchy* Opinion, have  
" good Meanings; and I hope this Parliament  
" will (as *Jude* says, reckoning up the abomina-  
" ble Apostacies of the last Times) pluck some  
" out of the Fire, and save others with Fear;  
" making those of peaceable Spirits, the Subjects  
" of

1654. " of their Encouragement, and saving others by  
 " that Discipline that God hath ordain'd to re-  
 " form Miscarriages: The Danger of that Spirit  
 " being not in the Notion, but in its proceeding  
 " to a civil Transgression; when Men come into  
 " such a Practice, as to tell us, that Liberty and  
 " Property are not the Bodies of that Kingdom,  
 " and that instead of regulating Laws, Laws  
 " must be subverted, and perhaps the Judicial  
 " Law impos'd, or some Fancy instead of it,  
 " (for that was good and honourable in the In-  
 " stitution, tho' now by some misapply'd;) espe-  
 " cially when every Stone is turn'd to bring in  
 " Confusion; this will be a Consideration worthy  
 " of the Magistrate:"

" WHILST these Things were in the midst of  
 " us, and the Nation rent and torn from one end to  
 " the other; Family against Family, Parent a-  
 " gainst Child, and nothing in the Hearts and  
 " Minds of Men, but *Overturn, Overturn*, a  
 " Scripture very much abus'd, and challeng'd by  
 " all Men of discontented Spirits; that common  
 " Enemy in the mean Time sleeps not; Swarms  
 " of *Jesuits* come over, and have their Consisto-  
 " ries abroad, to rule all the Affairs of *England*,  
 " and the Dependencies thereof: In the mean  
 " Time visible Endeavours were us'd to hinder  
 " the Work in *Ireland*, to obstruct the Work in  
 " *Scotland*; Correspondencies and Intelligences  
 " were held to encourage the War in those  
 " Places."

" AND withal, we were deeply engag'd in a  
 " War with *Portugal*, whereby our Trade ceas'd,  
 " and not only so, but a War with *Holland*,  
 " which consum'd our Treasure, as much as the  
 " Assessment came to. At the same Time we  
 " fell into a War with *France*, or rather we were  
 " in it: And all this fomented by the Divisions  
 " amongst us; which begat a Confidence, we  
 " could

“ could not hold out long; and the Calculation 1654.  
“ had not been ill, if the Lord had not been gra-  
“ cious to us. Besides, Strangers increased in the  
“ Manufacture, the great Staple Commodity of  
“ this Nation.”

“ IN such an heap of Confusion was this poor  
“ Nation; and that it might not sink into a Con-  
“ fusion from the Premises, a Remedy must be  
“ applied: A Remedy hath been apply'd, *this*  
“ Government. A Thing that is seen and read  
“ of all, and which (let Men say what they will,  
“ I can speak with Comfort before a greater than  
“ you all, as to my Intention; and let Men  
“ judge out of the Thing itself) is calculated for  
“ the Interest of the People, for their Interest  
“ alone, and for their Good, without Respect had  
“ to any other Interest.”

“ I may, with Humbleness towards God, and  
“ Modesty before you, say something in the Be-  
“ half of it.”

“ IT hath endeavour'd to reform the Laws,  
“ and for that End hath join'd Persons (with-  
“ out Reflection upon any) of as great Integrity  
“ and Ability as any other, to consider how  
“ the Laws might be made plain, short, and  
“ easy; which may in due Time be tendered.”

“ IT hath taken Care to put into Seats of  
“ Justice, Men of the most known Integrity  
“ and Ability.”

“ THE Chancery hath been reformed, and I  
“ hope to the just Satisfaction of all good Men.”

“ IT hath put a Stop to that heady Way, for  
“ every Man that will, to make himself a Prea-  
“ cher, having endeavour'd to settle a Way for  
“ Approbation of Men of Piety and Fitnes for  
“ the Work, and the Business committed to  
“ Persons both of the Presbyterian and Indepen-  
“ dent Judgment; Men of as known Ability  
“ and Integrity, as (I suppose) any the Nation  
“ hath,

1654. " hath, and who (I believe) have labour'd to approve them selves to God and their own Consciences, in approving Men to that great Function."

" IT hath taken Care to expunge Men unfit for that Work, who have been the common Scorn and Reproach to that Administration."

" ONE Thing more : It hath been Instrumental to call a free Parliament ; blessed be God, we see here this Day a free Parliament ; and that it may continue so, I hope is in the Heart of every good Man of *England* : For my own Part, as I desir'd it above my Life, so to keep it free, I shall value it above my Life.

\* White-lock.  
" A Peace is made with *Sweden* (wherein an honourable Person\* was instrumental) it being of much Importance to have a good Understanding with our *Protestant* Neighbours."

" A Peace is also made with the *Danes*, and a Peace there that is honourable, and to the Satisfaction of the Merchants."

" THE Sound is open to us, from whence, as from a Fountain, our naval Provisions are supplied."

" A Peace is made with the *Dutch*, which is so well known in the Consequences of it, and the great Advantages of a good Understanding with *Protestant* States."

" I beg that it may be in your Hearts, to be zealous of the *Protestant* Interest abroad, which if ever it be like to come under a Condition of suffering, it is now ; many being banish'd, and driven to seek Refuge among Strangers."

" A Peace is made with *Portugal* (tho' it hung long) of great Concernment to Trade ; and the People that trade thither, have freedom to enjoy their Consciences, without being subjected to the bloody Inquisition."

" A

1654.

" A Treaty with *France*, likewise, is now de-  
pending."

" IT may be necessary, in the next Place, for  
you to hear a little of the Sea Affairs, and  
to take Notice of the great Expence of the  
Forces and Fleet; and yet 30000*l.* is now  
abated of the next three Months Assessment."

" THESE Things, which I have before men-  
tion'd, are but Entrances, and Doors of Hope:  
You are brought to the Edge of *Canaan* (in-  
to which many that have gone before could  
not enter) but if the Blessing and Presence  
of God go along with you in the Manage-  
ment of your Affairs, I make no Question

" BUT this is a Maxim not to be despised,  
*Tho' Peace be made, yet it is Interest that*  
*keeps Peace, and farther than that, Peace is*  
*not to be trusted.*"

" THE great End of calling this Parliament,  
is, that the Work of God may go on, that  
the Ship of this Common-wealth may be  
brought into a safe Harbour."

" I shall put you in Mind, that you  
have a great Work upon you; *Ireland* to look  
to, that the beginning of that Government may  
be settled in Honour."

" THAT you have before you, the Conside-  
ration of those Foreign States, with whom  
Peace is not made; who if they see we man-  
age not our Affairs with Prudence, as be-  
comes Men, will retain Hopes, that we may  
still, under the Disadvantages thereof, break in-  
to Confusion."

" I shall conclude with my Persuasion to you,  
to have a sweet, gracious, and holy Under-  
standing one of another, and put you in  
mind

1654. " mind of the Counsel you heard this Day in  
 ~~~~~ " order thereunto."

" AND I desire you to believe, that I speak  
 " not to you, as one that would be Lord over  
 " you, but as one that is resolv'd to be a Fel-  
 " low Servant with you to the Interest of this  
 " great Affair."

THEN he wish'd them to repair to their House,  
 and exercise their own Liberty in the Choice of  
 their Speaker.

They BEING come to the Parliament House, they  
 chuse *Len-* almost unanimously made choice of the old Speak-  
*that their* er Mr. *William Lenthal*, Master of the *Rolls*, to  
 Speaker, and debate be their Speaker. This done, they presently took  
 on the *In*-the Protector's *Instrument of Government* into  
*Instrument* Consideration; and the first Debate they fell upon,  
*of Govern-  
ment.* was, *Whether the supreme Legislative Power of the  
 Nation should be in a single Person, and a Parlia-  
 ment.* And here many warm Speeches were made  
 in direct Opposition to a single Person; and one  
 said, " That they could not but discern the Snares  
 " laid to entrap the People's Privileges; and for  
 " his own Part, as God had made him instrumen-  
 " tal in cutting down Tyranny in one Person, so  
 " he could not endure to see the Nation's Liber-  
 " ties shackled by another, whose Right to the  
 " Government could be measur'd out no other-  
 " ways then by the length of his Sword, which  
 " was only that which embolden'd him to com-  
 " mand his Commanders." These Debates continu'd  
 for seven or eight Days together, to the great  
 Grief of the Prote<sup>r</sup>t<sup>o</sup>nians, who to save themselves  
 were necessitated to find Means for protracting  
 Time, and adjourning the House, when the Question  
 was ready to be put, because they plainly saw  
 it would be carry'd in the Negative.

The Pro- HIS Highness being inform'd of these Proceed-  
 tector dis- ings, and fearing to have that great Question put,  
 pleas'd. lest he should be depos'd by a Vote of this Assem-  
 bly,

bly, on the 12th of September early in the Morning, caus'd a Guard to be plac'd at the Door of the House, and sent to the Lord Mayor to acquaint him with the Reasons of what he was about to do, that he might prevent any Disorder in the City. The Members coming at the usual Hour, were deny'd Entrance, and commanded to attend the Lord Protector in the *Painted Chamber*, where he spoke to them as follows:

HE told them, " That when he met them a Makes few days since, and deliver'd his mind unto another them, he did it with much more hopes and Speech to comfort than now; and that he was very sorry them. to find them falling into heats and divisions. He represented to them the Miscarriages of the *Long Parliament*, and declar'd, That he had often pres'd that Assembly, as a Member, to put a Period to themselves, telling them, *That the Nation loath'd their Sitting*; and when they were dissolv'd, there was no visible repining at it, *no not so much as the Barking of a Dog*. He shew'd them, by what means he came to the Government, together with the Consent that the People had many ways given thereunto; and said, That the other Day when he told them *they were a free Parliament*, he did also consider, there was a *Reciprocarion*: For that the same Government, which made them a Parliament, made him *Protector*; and as they were entrusted with some things, so he was with others. That there were some things in the Government *Fundamental*, which could not be alter'd; as, 1. *That the Government should be in one Person and a Parliament*. 2. *That Parliaments should not be made perpetual*; which would deprive the People of their successive Elections: *Nor that the Parliament should be always Sitting*, that is, as soon as one Parliament is up, another should come and Sit in their Places

1654. " Places the very next Day ; which could not be,  
" without subje&tting the Nation to an Arbitrary  
" Power in governing, because Parliaments, when  
" they Sit, are absolute and unlimited. The 3d  
" Fundamental was in the Matter of the *Militia*:  
" For in order to prevent the two aforementioned  
" Inconveniencies, The *Militia* was not to be en-  
" trusted in any one hand or power, but to be so  
" disposed, that as the *Parliament* ought to have  
" a Check upon the *Protector*, to prevent Excesses  
" in him, so on the other hand, the *Protector*  
" might have a Check upon the *Parliament*, to  
" prevent Excesses in them; because if the *Militia*  
" were wholly in the *Parliament*, they might, when  
" they would, perpetuate themselves: But now  
" the *Militia* being dispos'd as it is, the one stands  
" as a Counterpoize to the other; which renders  
" the Ballance of Government the more even,  
" and the Government it self the more firm and  
" stable. The 4th Fundamental in the Govern-  
" ment, was about a due *Liberty of Conscience in*  
" *Matters of Religion*; wherein Bounds and Lim-  
" its ought to be set, so as to prevent *Persecution*.  
" That the rest of the things in the Government  
" were examinable, and alterable, as the Occasi-  
" on and the State of Affairs should require.  
" That as for a *Negative Voice*, he claim'd it  
" not, save only in the foresaid Particulars. That  
" in all other things he had only a deliberative  
" Power; and if he did not pass such Laws as  
" were presented to him, within twenty Days af-  
" ter their Presentment, they were to be Laws  
" without his Consent. Therefore, things being  
" thus, he was sorry to understand that any of  
" them should go about to overthrow what was  
" so settled, contrary to their Trust receiv'd from  
" the People; which could not but bring on very  
" great Inconveniencies: To prevent which, he  
" was necessitated to appoint a *Test*, or *Recog-*  
" *nition*,

" nition of the Government, which was to be sign'd 1654.  
 " by them, before they went any more into the ~~House~~  
 " House."

THE said *Test* or *Recognition* was in these He ap-  
 Words: *I A. B. do hereby freely Promise and points*  
*Engage my self to be true and faithful to the Lord* <sup>them a</sup> *Protector and the Commonwealth of England, Scot-*  
*land and Ireland; and shall not (according to the* <sup>Test.</sup> *Tenour of the Indenture, whereby I am return'd to*  
*serve in this present Parliament) propose, or give any*  
*Consent to alter the Government, as it is set tled in*  
*one single Person, and a Parliament.*

THIS being ingross'd in Parchment, was laid Which is  
 on a Table near the Door of the House, for the <sup>subscrib'd</sup> <sub>by several</sub> Members to subscribe before they should be quali-  
 fy'd to sit. Accordingly, within a Day or two, it  
 was sign'd by about a Hundred and Thirty of them,  
 and some Days after by a great many others, who  
 thereupon took their Places in the House. 'Tis said,  
 that those, who refus'd to subscribe this *Engage-*  
*ment*, were not only excluded, but some of them  
 taken into Custody. Major-General *Harrison*, the  
 Protector's late great Favourite, was now secur'd  
 by a Party of Horse, by his Highness's Order;  
 and Colonel *Rich*, Mr. *Carew* and others, being  
 summon'd before the Council, were requir'd to  
 surrender their Commissions; and because they  
 refus'd to engage not to act against the Lord Pro-  
 tector and his Government, they were committed  
 to Prison.

A Debate arising in the House concerning the Their De-  
*Recognition*, it was thereupon declar'd, "That it clarion  
 " should not be intended to comprehend the <sup>thereup-</sup>  
 " whole, contain'd in the Forty Two Articles of  
 " the *Instrument of Government*, but only that  
 " which requir'd the Government of the Com- They de-  
 " monwealth to be by a single Person, and succee- bate the  
 " five Parliaments." The great Point concerning remaining  
 the *single Person* being over-rul'd, the House <sup>Articles of</sup> Govern-  
 U ap- ment.

1654. apply'd themselves to the Consideration and Debate of the remaining Clauses of the *Instrument of Government*. They declar'd, " That Oliver Cromwell should be Protector during Life ; and limited the Number of Forces to be kept up in *England, Scotland and Ireland*, with Provision for the Payment of them. They agreed upon the Number of Ships, that they thought necessary for the guard of the Seas ; and order'd Two Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year for the Protector's own Expence, the Salaries of his Council, the Judges, foreign Intelligence, and the Reception of Ambassadors ; and that *Whitehall, St. James's, the Mews, Somerset-House, Greenwich, Hampton-Court, Windsor* and the Manour of *York*, be kept unsold for the Protector's Use. They also voted a Clause to be inserted, to declare the Rights of the People of *England*, and particularly, That no Money should be raised upon the Nation, but by Authority of Parliament. And whereas by the *Instrument of Government* it was provided, that if the Parliament were not sitting at the Death of the present Protector, the Council should chuse a Successor ; they resolv'd, That nothing should be determin'd by the Council after his Death, but the Calling of a Parliament, who were then to consider what they would have done. They also approv'd and confirm'd the present Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, the present Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of *England*, the Commissioners of the Treasury, and the two chief Justices. Among other things, they debated the Point of *Liberty of Conscience* upon the new Government, and agreed to allow it to all, who shall not maintain *Atheism, Popery, Prelacy, Profaneness, or any damnable Heresies*, to be enumerated by the Parliament." This highly pleas'd some Men ; and it is observable,

vable, that during these Debates, the Ministers were so forward and zealous, that they propos'd several *Fundamentals* in Religion (*viz.* their own beloved Opinions) to the Parliament to be establish'd by them. These Debates upon the Government continued for some Months, in which time also the House took a transient View of the Protector's own Ordinances; particularly, one for paying the Money into the Treasury, rais'd for the Propagation of the Gospel in *Wales*: Another, to make Soldiers Free in Corporations: Another, to remove all scandalous Preachers and Ministers; and a Fourth for the surveying of King's and Churches Lands. And having gone thro' the *Instrument of Government*, they pass'd this additional Vote, *That no one Clause, of what they had agreed upon, should be look'd upon as binding, unless the whole were consented to.*

DURING these Debates in Parliament, an odd Accident happen'd to the Protector, which very much endanger'd his Life. He having taken up on himself the whole Government of the Nation, and sent Ambassadors and Agents to foreign Kingdoms and States, was again very much courted by them, and presented with the Rarities of several Countries; and the Duke of *Holstein* among the rest made him a Present of a gallant Set of *Grey Friezeland Coach-Horses*. With these he had a mind to take the Air in the *Park*, attended only with his Secretary *Thurloe* and his Guards. Being come into the *Park*, he would needs take the Place of the Coach-Man; and so mounting the Box, he began to lash and drive them on verily furiously: But the Horses, not us'd to such rough Management, ran away with full Speed, and never stopp'd, till their Driver was thrown with great Violence out of the Box; with which Fall his Pistol fir'd in his Pocket, tho' he had the good Fortune to receive no hurt.

1654. IN the Debates upon the Government, many Things were said, which gave great offence to the Protector and his Council, and made it plainly appear, that the Parliament were not inclinable to answer his whole Desire and Expectation, and fall in with all he design'd: Hereupon he grew very uneasy, till the five Months, allow'd for their sitting by his own *Instrument of Government*, should be expir'd. And tho' the Form of Government, which they had agreed to, differ'd not in any material Point from that which himself had set up, unless it were in reserving the Nomination of his Successor to the Parliament; yet this one Thing was thought very disagreeable to him, and some of his Council. However, the Dissolution of this Assembly was, after much Debate in Council, resolv'd on; and so the five Months of their Session, according to the Soldiers Account of twenty eight Days to the Month, were no sooner ended, but the Members on the 22d of January were requir'd to attend him in the *Painted-Chamber*, where he dissolv'd them with this most tedious and intricate Speech.

He makes a Speech, and dissolves them.

" GENTLEMEN, I perceive you are here as the *House of Parliament*, by your Speaker, whom I see here, and by your Faces, which are, in a great measure, known to me."

" WHEN I first met you in this Room, it was to my Apprehension the hopefullest Day that ever mine Eyes saw, as to the Considerations of this World: For I did look at (as wrapt up in you, together with myself) the Hopes and the Happiness of (tho' not of the greatest, yet a very great, and) the best People in the World; and truly and unfeignedly I thought so; as a People that have the highest and clearest Profession among them of the greatest Glory (to wit) Religion; as a People that have been like other Nations, sometimes up and sometimes down,

“ down, in our Honour in the World, and yet 1654.  
 “ never so low, but we might measure with o-  
 “ ther Nations; and a People that have had a  
 “ Stamp upon them from God, God having (as  
 “ it were) summed all our former Glory and  
 “ Honour, in the Things that are of Glory to  
 “ Nations, in an *Epitome*, within these ten or  
 “ twelve Years last past; so that we knew one  
 “ another at home, and are well known abroad.”

“ AND (if I be not very much mistaken) we  
 “ were arriv'd (as I, and truly, as I believe,  
 “ many others did think) at a very safe Port,  
 “ where we might sit down, and contemplate  
 “ the Dispensations of God, and our Mercies  
 “ not to have been like to those of the Antients,  
 “ who did make out their Peace and Prosperi-  
 “ ty, as they thought, by their own Endeavours;  
 “ who could not say, as We, that all ours were  
 “ let down to us from God himself, whose Ap-  
 “ pearances and Providences amongst us are not to  
 “ be out-match'd in any Story.”

“ TRULY this was our Condition, and I know  
 “ nothing else we had to do, save as *Israel* was  
 “ commanded, in that most excellent *Psalm* of  
 “ *David*, *Psalm* 78. v. 4, 5, 6, 7, *The Things*  
 “ which we have heard and known, and our Fa-  
 “ thers have told us, we will not bide them from  
 “ their Children, shewing to the Generation to come  
 “ the Praise of the Lord, and his Strength, and his  
 “ wonderful Works which he hath done; for he estab-  
 “ lish'd a Testimony in Jacob, and appointed a Law  
 “ in Israel, which he commanded our Fathers that  
 “ they should make them known to their Children,  
 “ that the Generation to come might know them, e-  
 “ ven the Children that should be born, who should  
 “ arise and declare them to their Children, that they  
 “ might set their Hope in God, and not forget the  
 “ Works of God, but keep his Commandments.”

1654.

“ THIS I thought had been a Song and a Work  
 worthy of *England*, whereunto you might  
 have happily invited them, had you had  
 Hearts unto it.”

“ You had this Opportunity fairly delivered  
 unto you; and if a *History* shall be written of  
 these Times, and of Transactions, it will  
 be said (it will not be deny'd) but that these  
 Things I have spoken are true.”

“ THIS Talent was put into your Hands, and  
 I shall recur to that which I said at the first,  
 I came with very great Joy, and Content-  
 ment, and Comfort, the first Time I met  
 you in this Place: But we and these Nations  
 are, for the present, under some Disappoint-  
 ment. If I had purpos'd to have plaid the O-  
 rator, which I did never affect, nor do, nor I  
 hope shall, I doubt not but upon easy Sup-  
 positions, which I am persuaded every one of  
 you will grant, we did meet upon such Hopes  
 as these.”

“ I met you a second Time here, and I con-  
 fess at that Meeting I had much abatement  
 of my Hopes, though not a total Frustration.  
 I confess, that that which dampt my Hopes  
 so soon, was somewhat that did look like a  
*Parricide*. It is obvious enough unto you, that  
 the Management of Affairs did favour of a *not-*  
*owning*, too too much favour, I say, of a  
*not-owning* the *Authority* that called you hither;  
 but God left us not without an Expedient,  
 that gave a second *Possibility*. Shall I say a  
*Possibility*? It seemed to me a *Probability* of  
 recovering out of that *dissatisfy'd Condition*, we  
 were all then in, towards some mutuality of  
*Satisfaction*; and therefore by that *Recognition*  
 suiting with the *Indenture* that return'd you  
 hither, to which afterwards also was added  
 your own Declaration, conformable to, and in  
 “ Ac-

“ Acceptance of that Expedient ; whereby you  
 “ had (though with a little Check) another Op-  
 “ portunity renew’d unto you to have made this  
 “ Nation as happy, as it could have been, if e-  
 “ very Thing had smoothly run on from the  
 “ first Hour of your Meeting.”

“ AND indeed, (you will give me Liberty of  
 “ my Thoughts and Hopes) I did think, as I  
 “ have formerly found in that Way that I have  
 “ been engaged as a Soldier, that some Affronts  
 “ put upon us, some Disasters at the first have  
 “ made way for very great and happy Succes-  
 “ ses.”

“ AND I did not at all *despond*, but the  
 “ Stop put upon you, would in like Manner have  
 “ made Way for a Blessing from God, that  
 “ that *Interruption* being, as I thought, necessa-  
 “ ry to divert you from destructive and violent  
 “ Proceedings, to give Time for better Delibe-  
 “ ration; whereby leaving the Government as  
 “ you found it, you might have proceeded to  
 “ have made those good and wholesome *Laws* which  
 “ the People expected from you; and might  
 “ have answer’d the *Grievances* and settled those  
 “ other Things proper to you as a *Parliament*,  
 “ and for which you would have had Thanks  
 “ from all that intrusted you.”

“ WHAT hath hapned since that Time, I  
 “ have not taken publick Notice of, as declin-  
 “ ing to intrench upon *Parliament Privileges*;  
 “ for sure I am, you will all bear me Witness  
 “ that from your entring into the *House* upon  
 “ the *Recognition*, to this very Day, you have  
 “ had no Manner of *Interruption* or Hindrance of  
 “ mine, in proceeding to that blessed Issue the  
 “ Heart of a good Man could propose to him-  
 “ self, to this very Day.”

1654. " You see you have me very much lockt  
 up, as to what you transacted among your-  
 selves, from that Time to this; but some  
 Thing I shall take Liberty to speak of to you.  
 As I may not take Notice what you have been  
 doing, so I think I have very great Liberty  
 to tell you that I do not know what you have  
 been *doing*: I do not know whether you have  
 been alive or dead: I have not once heard from  
 you in all this Time; I have not, and that  
 you all know: If that be a Fault that I have  
 not, surely it hath not been mine."

" IF I have had any *melancholy Thoughts*, and  
 have fate down by them, why might it not  
 have been very lawful to me, to think that I  
 was a *Person* judg'd *unconcern'd* in all these  
 Businesses? I can assure you, I have not reck-  
 oned my self, nor did I reckon my self *un-  
 concern'd* in you; and so long as any *just Pa-  
 tience* could support my Expectation, I would  
 have waited to the uttermost to have recei-  
 ved from you, the Issues of your *Constitu-  
 tions* and *Resolutions*; I have been careful of  
 your *Safety*, and the Safety of those that you re-  
 presented, to whom I reckon my self a Servant."

" BUT what Messages have I disturbed you  
 withal? What *Injury* or *Indignity* hath been  
 done or offered, either to your Persons or  
 to any Privileges of *Parliament*, since you  
 sate? I look at my self as strictly oblig'd  
 by my *Oath*, since your recognizing the Go-  
 vernment, in the *Authority* of which you were  
 called hither, and sate, to give you all possible  
 Security, and to keep you from any Unpar-  
 liamentary *Interruption*."

" THINK you I could not say more upon  
 this Subject, if I listed to expatiate thereup-  
 on? but because my Actions plead for me, I  
 shall say no more of this."

" I

" I say I have been caring for you, your quiet sitting, caring for your Privileges, (as I said before) that they might not be interrupted; have been seeking of God, from the great God, a Blessing upon you, and a Blessing upon these Nations; I have been consulting, if possibly I might in any Thing promote, in my Place, the real good of this Parliament, of the Hopefulness of which I have said so much unto you."

" AND I did think it to be my Business, rather to see the utmost Issue, and what God would produce by you, than unseasonably to intermeddle with you. But, as I said before, I have been caring for you, and for the Peace and Quiet of the Nations, indeed I have, and that I shall a little presently manifest unto you."

" AND it leadeth me to let you know somewhat that I fear, I fear will be through some Interpretation a little too justly put upon you, whilst you have been employ'd as you have been (and in all that Time express'd in the Government, in that Government, I say in that Government) brought forth nothing that you your selves can be taken Notice of without Infringement of your Privileges."

" I will tell you somewhat, that (if it be not News to you) I wish you had taken very serious Consideration of; if it be News, I wish I had acquainted you with it sooner; and yet if any Man will ask me why I did it not, the Reason is given already, because I did make it my Business to give no Interruption."

" THERE be some Trees that will not grow under the Shadow of other Trees; there be some that chuse (a Man may say so by Way of

1654. " of allusion) to thrive under the *Shadow* of other *Trees*; I will tell you what hath thriven, " I will not say what you have *cherish'd* under your *Shadow*, that were too hard. Instead of the *Peace* and *Settlement*, instead of *Mercy* and *Truth* being brought together, *Righteousness* and *Peace* kissing each other, by reconciling the honest People of these Nations, and settling the woful Distempers that are amongst us, (which had been glorious Things, and worthy of *Christians* to have propos'd) *Weeds* and *Nettles*, *Briars* and *Thorns* have thriven under your *Shadow*. Dissettlement, and Divisions, Discontentment, and Dis-satisfaction, together with real Dangers to the whole, has been more multiply'd within these five Months of your sitting, than in some Years before."

" FOUNDATIONS have been also laid for the future renewing the *Troubles* of these Nations, by all the Enemies of it abroad and at home; let not these Words seem too sharp, for they are true, as any *mathematical Demonstrations* are or can be; I say the Enemies of the *Peace* of these Nations abroad and at home, the discontented Humours throughout these Nations, which I think no Man will grudge to call by that Name, or to make to allude to *Briars* and *Thorns*, they have nourish'd themselves under your *Shadow*."

" AND that I may be clearly understood, they have taken the Opportunities from your *Sitting*, from the Hopes they had, which with easy conjecture they might take up, and conclude, that there would be no *Settlement*, and therefore they have framed their *Designs*, preparing for the *Execution* of them accordingly."

" Now

" Now whether (which appertains not to me to judge of on their behalf) they had any Occasion ministred for this, and from whence they had it, I list not to make any Scrutiny or Search, but I will say this, I think they had them not from me, I am sure they had not; from whence they had it, is not my Businesse now to discourse, but that they had, is obvious to every Man's Sense."

" WHAT Preparations they have made to execute in such a Season as they thought fit to take their Opportunity from, that I know (not as Men know Things by Conjecture, but) by certain demonstrable Knowledge, that they have been (for some Time past) furnishing themselves with Arms, nothing doubting but, that they should have a Day for it, and verily believing that whatsoever their former Dis appointments were, they should have more done for them by and from our own Divisions, than they were able to do for themselves. I do not, and I desire to be understood so, that in all I have to say of this Subject, you will take it that I have no Reservation in my Mind to mingle Things of Guess and Suspicion with Things of Fact, but the Things I am telling are Fact, Things of evident Demonstration."

" THESE Weeds, Briars and Thorns, they have been preparing, and have brought their Designs to some maturity, by the advantages given to them, as aforesaid, from your Sitting and Proceedings; but by the waking Eye that watched over that Cause that God will bless, they have been, and yet are disappointed. And having mentioned that Cause, I say that slighted Cause, Let me speak a few words in behalfe thereof (though it may seem too long a digression:) Whosoever despiseth it, and will say it is Non Causa

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" *Causa pro Causa*, the all-searching Eye before  
" mentioned will find out that Man, and will judge  
" him, as one that regardeth not the *Works* of  
" God, nor the *operations* of his hands, for which  
" God hath threatned that he will cast men  
" down, and not build them up; that because he  
" can dispute, and tell us, He knew not where  
" the *Cause* begun, or where it is, but modelleth  
" it according to his own Intellect, and submits  
" not to the *Appearances* of God in the World,  
" therefore he lifts up his heel against God, and  
" mocketh at all his Providences, laughing at the  
" observations made up not without *Reason*, and  
" the *Scriptures*, but by the quickning and teach-  
" ing *Spirit*, which gives life to the other, call-  
" ing such *observations* Enthusiasms. Such men,  
" I say, no wonder if they stumble and fall back-  
" ward, and be broken, and snared, and taken, by  
" the things of which they are so maliciously  
" and wilfully ignorant. The *Scriptures* say, The  
" Rod hath a Voice, and he will make himself  
" known, and he will make himself known by  
" the Judgments which he executeth; and do we  
" not think he will, and does by the Providences  
" of Mercy and kindness which he hath for his  
" People, and for their just Liberties, *whom he*  
" *loves as the Apple of his Eye?* Doth he not by  
" them manifest himself? And is he not thereby  
" also seen, giving *Kingdoms* for them, giving  
" *men* for them, and *People* for their lives? as it  
" is in the 43. of *Isaiah*. Is not this as fair a  
" Lecture, and as clear speaking, as any thing our  
" dark Reason, left to the Letter of the *Scrip-*  
" *tures*, can collect from them. By this *Voice* has  
" God spoken very loud on the behalf of his peo-  
" ple, by judging their Enemies in the late War,  
" and restoring them a *Liberty* to worship with the  
" freedom of their *Consciences*, and freedom in their  
" *Estates* and *Persons*, when they do so. And  
" thus

“ thus we have found the *Cause of God* by the  
 “ *Works of God*, which are the *Testimony of God*,  
 “ upon which *Rock* whosoever *splits*, shall suffer  
 “ *shipwreck*.

“ **BUT** it is our *Glory*, and it is *Mine*, if I have  
 “ any in the *World*, concerning the *Interest* of  
 “ those that have an *Interest* in a better *World* ;  
 “ It is *My Glory*, that I know a *Cause*, which  
 “ yet we have not lost, but do hope we shall take  
 “ a little pleasure rather to lose our *Lives* than  
 “ lose. But you will excuse this long *Digres-*  
 “ *sion*.”

“ I say unto you, whilst you have been in the  
 “ midst of these *Transactions*, that *Party*, that  
 “ *Cavalier Party*, (I could wish some of them  
 “ had thrust in here to have heard what I say)  
 “ the *Cavalier Party*, have been *designing* and *pre-*  
 “ *paring* to put this *Nation* in *Blood* again with a  
 “ witness; but because I am confident there are  
 “ none of that Sort here, therefore I shall say the  
 “ less to that; only this I must tell you, they  
 “ have been making great preparations of *Arms*,  
 “ and I do believe, will be made evident to you,  
 “ that they have raked out many thousands of  
 “ *Arms*, even all that this *City* could afford, for  
 “ divers Months last past.

“ **BUT** it will be said, May we not arm Our  
 “ selves for the *Defence* of our *Houses*? will any  
 “ body find fault for that? No, for that, the  
 “ reason of their doing so hath been as explicit,  
 “ and under as clear proof, as the fact of doing  
 “ so, for which I hope by the *Justice* of the  
 “ *Land*, some will, in the face of the *Nation*,  
 “ *Answer* it with their *lives*, and then the busi-  
 “ ness will be pretty well out of doubt.

“ **BANKS** of *Money* have been framing for these,  
 “ and other such like uses; *Letters* have been issu-  
 “ ed, with *Privy Seals*, to as great Persons as  
 “ most

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1654. " most are in the Nation, for the advance of  
 " Moneys, which have been *discovered* to Us by  
 " the persons themselves; Commissions for *Regi-*  
 " *m ents of Horse and Foot, and Command of Caft-*  
 " *les,* have been likewise given from *Charles Stu-*  
 " *art,* since your *Sitting;* and what the general  
 " insolencies of that party have been, the honest  
 " people have been sensible of, and can very well  
 " tell fy.

" IT hath not been only thus; but as in a *Quin-*  
 " *zey or Pleurif y,* where the humour fixeth in one  
 " part, give it scope, it will gather to that place,  
 " to the hazarding of the whole; and it is na-  
 " tural to do so, till it destroy nature, in that  
 " Person on whomsoever this befalls:

" So likewise will those diseases take accidental  
 " Causes of aggravation of their distemper; and  
 " this was that which I did assert, that they  
 " have taken accidental Causes, for the growing  
 " and encreasing of those Distempers, as much as  
 " would have been in the natural body, if timely  
 " remedy were not applyed. And indeed, things  
 " were come to that pail (in respect of which I  
 " shall give you a particular account) that no  
 " mortal Physician, if the Great Physician had  
 " not stept in, could have cured the Distemper.

" SHALL I lay this upon your Accompt, or my  
 " own? I am sure I can lay it upon God's Ac-  
 " compt, that if he had not stept in, the Disease  
 " had been mortal and destructive; and what is  
 " all this? Truly I muſt needs ſay, a Company of  
 " Men, ſtill like Briars and Thorns, and worse  
 " if worse can be, of another ſort then thoſe be-  
 " fore mentioned to you, have been, and yet are,  
 " endeavouring to put us into Blood, and into  
 " Confuſion, more desperate and dangerous Con-  
 " fusion than *England* ever yet ſaw.

" AND

“ AND I must say, as when Gideon commanded his Son to fall upon Zeba and Zalmunna, and slay them, they thought it more noble to die by the hand of a Man, than of a Stripling; which shews, there is some contentment in the hand by which a man falls; so it is some satisfaction, if a Common-wealth must perish, that it perish by Men, and not by the hands of persons differing little from Beasts; that if it must needs suffer, it should rather suffer from rich men, then from poor men, who, as Solomon says, when they oppress, they leave nothing behind them, but are as sweeping Rain.

“ Now, such as these also are grown up under your shadow. But it will be asked, what have they done? I hope, tho' they pretend the Commonwealth's Interest, they have had no encouragement from you, but that as before, rather taken it, than that you have administred any Cause unto them for so doing, from Delays, from hopes that this Parliament would not settle, from Pamphlets, mentioning strange Votes and Resolves of yours, which I hope did abuse you. Thus you see, whatever the Grounds were, these have been the Effects. And thus I have laid these things before you, and others will be easily able to judge how far you are concerned.

“ AND what have these men done? they have also laboured to pervert where they could, and as they could, the honest-meaning People of the Nation; they have laboured to engage some in the Army; and I doubt, that not only they, but some others also very well known to You, have helped in this work of debauching and dividing the Army; they have, they have; I would be loth to say, who, where, and how, much more loth to say, they were any of your own Number, but I can say, Endeavours have been

1654. " been us'd to put the Army into a Distemper,  
 " and to feed that which is the worst humour in  
 " the Army, which though it was not a master-  
 " ing humour, yet these took their advantage  
 " from delay of the Settlement, and the Practices  
 " before mentioned, and stopping to pay off  
 " the Army, to run us into free Quarter, and  
 " to bring us into the Inconveniences most to be  
 " feared and avoided."

" WHAT if I am able to make it appear in  
 " Fact, That some amongst you have run into  
 " the City of *London* to persuade to Petitions  
 " and Addresses to you for reversing your own  
 " Votes that you have passed? Whether these  
 " Practices were in Favour of your Liberties,  
 " or tended to beget Hopes of Peace and Set-  
 " tlement from you; and whether debauching  
 " the Army in *England*, as is before expressed,  
 " and starving it, and putting it upon free Quar-  
 " ter, and occasioning and necessitating the grea-  
 " test Part thereof in *Scotland* to march into  
 " *England*, leaving the Remainder thereof to  
 " have their Throats cut there, and kindling by  
 " the rest a Fire in our own Bosoms, were for  
 " the Advantage of Affairs here, Let the World  
 " judge."

" THIS I tell you also, that the Corresponden-  
 " cy held with the Interest of Cavaliers, by that  
 " Party of Men, called *Levellers*, and who call  
 " themselves *Common-wealths-Men*; whose Decla-  
 " rations were framed to that Purpose, and ready  
 " to be published at the Time of their com-  
 " mon Rising, whereof we are posses'd; and for  
 " which we have the Confession of themselves  
 " now in Custody; who confess also they built  
 " their Hopes upon the Assurance they had of  
 " the Parliament's not agreeing to a Settlement;  
 " whether these Humours have not nourished  
 " themselves under your Boughs, is the Sub-  
 " ject

"ject of my present discourse, and I think I say  
"not amiss if I affirm it to be so.

AND I must say it again, That that which  
"hath been their Advantage, thus to raise Di-  
"sturbance, hath been by the loss of those Gold-  
"en Opportunities, that God had put into your  
"hands for Settlement. Judge you whether these  
"things were thus or no; when you first sat down  
"I am sure things were not thus; there was a  
"very great Peace and Sedateness throughout these  
"Nations, and great expectations of a Settlement,  
"which I remembred to you at the beginning  
"of my Speech, and hoped that you would have  
"entered upon your busness as you found it.

THERE was a Government in the Possession of  
"the People, I say a Government in the Possession  
"of the People, for many Months, it hath now  
"been exercised near fifteen Months; and if it  
"were needful that I should tell you how it came  
"into their Poisession, and how willingly they  
"received it; how all Law and Justice were  
"distributed from it, in every respect, as to life,  
"liberty and estate; how it was owned by God,  
"as being the Dispensation of his Providence af-  
"ter twelve years War, and sealed and witnessed  
"unto by the People; I should but repeat what I  
"said in my last Speech made unto you in this  
"place, and therefore I forbear.

WHEN you were entred upon this Government,  
"raveling into it ( you know I took no notice  
"what you were doing ) if you had gone upon  
"that foot of Account, To have made such good  
"and wholesom Provisions for the good of the  
"People of these Nations, for the settling of  
"such matters in things of Religion as would  
"have upheld and given Countenance to a God-  
"ly Ministry, and yet would have given a just  
"Liberty to Godly men of different Judgments,  
"men of the same Faith with them that you

1654. " call the Orthodox Ministry in England, as it is well known the Independants are, and many under the Form of Baptism, who are sound in the Faith, only may perhaps be different in Judgment in some lesser matters, yet as true Christians, both looking at Salvation only by faith in the Blood of Christ, men professing the fear of God, having Recourse to the Name of God, as to a strong Tower; I say you might have had Opportunity to have settled Peace and Quietness amongst all professing Godliness, and might have been instrumental, if not to have healed the breaches, yet to have kept the Godly of all Judgments from running one upon another, and by keeping them from being over-run by a Common Enemy, rendred them and these Nations, both secure, happy, and well satisfied.

" ARE these things done? or any thing towards them? Is there not yet upon the Spirits of men a strange itch? nothing will satisfy them, unless they can put their fingers upon their Brethrens Consciences, to pinch them there. To do this, was no part of the Contest we had with the Common Adversary; for Religion was not the thing at the first contested for; but God brought it to that issue at last, and gave it in to us by way of Redundancy, and at last it proved to be that which was most dear to us; and wherein consisted this, more then in obtaining that Liberty from the Tyranny of the Bishops, to all Species of Protestants, to worship God according to their own Light and Consciences? for want of which, many of our Brethren forsook their Native Countries, to seek their Bread from Strangers, and to live in Howling Wilderness; and for which also, many that remained here, were imprisoned, and otherwise abused, and made the scorn of the Nation.

" THOSE

1654.

" THOSE that were found in the *Faith*, how proper was it for them to labour for *Liberty*, for a just *Liberty*, that men should not be trampled upon for their *Consciences*? Had not they laboured but lately under the weight of persecutions, and was it fit for them to sit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give it? what greater Hypocrisy, than for those who were oppressed by the *Bishops*, to become the greatest *Oppressors* themselves, so soon as their yoke was removed? I could wish that they, who call for *Liberty* now also, had not too much of that *Spirit* if the power were in their hands.

" As for profane Persons, *Blasphemers*, such as preach *Sedition*, the *Contentious Railers*, *Evil Speakers*, who seek by evil words to corrupt good manners, persons of loose *Conversations*; punishment from the *Civil Magistrate* ought to meet with them; because, if these pretend *Conscience*, yet walking disorderly, and not according, but contrary to the *Gospel* and even to *natural light*, they are judged of all, and their *Sins* being open, makes them subjects of the *Magistrates* Sword, who ought not to bear it in vain.

" THE Discipline of the *Army* was such, that a man would not be suffered to remain there, of whom we could take notice he was guilty of such *Practices* as these: And therefore how happy would *England* have been, and You, and I, if the Lord had led you on to have settled upon such good accounts as these are, and to have discountenanced such practices as the other, and left men in disputable things free to their own *Consciences*, which was well provided for by the *Government*, and liberty left to provide against what was apparently evil?

" JUDGE you, whether the *Contesting* for things that were provided for by this *Government*

1654. " hath been *profitable* expence of time for the  
 " good of these Nations? by means whereof,  
 " you may see you have wholly elaps'd your  
 " time, and done just nothing.

" I WILL say this to you in behalf of the long  
 " Parliament, that had such an Expedient as  
 " this Government been proposed to them, and  
 " that they could have seen the Cause of God  
 " thus provided for, and had by Debates been  
 " enlightned in the grounds by which the *Diffi-*  
 " *culties* might have been cleared, and the reason  
 " of the whole inforced, the circumstances of  
 " Time and Persons, with the Temper and *Dis-*  
 " *position* of the People, and Affairs both *Abroad*  
 " and at *Home*, when it was undertaken, well  
 " weighed, ( as well as they were thought to  
 " love their Seats ) I think in my Conscience  
 " that they would have proceeded in another  
 " manner than you have done, and not have ex-  
 " posed things to those *Difficulties* and *Hazards*  
 " they now are at, nor given occasion to leave  
 " the People so *dissettled* as now they are, who I  
 " dare say, in the soberest, and most judicious  
 " part of them, did expect, not a *Questioning*,  
 " but a *doing* things in pursuance of the Govern-  
 " ment; and if I be not mis-informed, very many  
 " of you came up with this *Satisfaction*, having  
 " had time enough to weigh and consider the  
 " same.

" AND when I say, such an *Expedient* as this  
 " Government is, wherein I dare assert there is a  
 " just *Liberty* to the People of God, and the just  
 " Rights of the People in these Nations provided  
 " for, I can put the issue thereof upon the  
 " clearest Reason, whatsoever any go about to  
 " suggest to the contrary.

" BUT this not being the time and place of  
 " such an *Averment*, for satisfaction sake herein,  
 " enough is said in a Book, entituled, *A True  
     State*

" State of the Case of the Common-wealth, &c. 1654.  
 " published in Jan. 1653. ( And for my self,  
 " I desire not to keep it an hour longer than I  
 " may preserve England in its just Rights, and  
 " may Protect the People of God in such a just  
 " Liberty of their Consciences, as I have already  
 " mentioned.) And therefore if this Parliament  
 " have judged things to be otherwise than as I have  
 " stated them, it had been huge Friendliness be-  
 " tween persons that had such a Reciprocation, and  
 " in so great Concernments to the publick, for  
 " them to have convinced me in what particulars  
 " therein my Error lay, of which I never yet  
 " had a word from you. But if instead thereof,  
 " your time has been spent in Setting up somewhat  
 " else upon another bottom than this stands, that  
 " looks as if a laying grounds of a Quarrel had  
 " rather been designed, than to give the People  
 " Settlement; if it be thus, it's well your Labours  
 " have not arrived to any maturity at all.

" THIS Government called you hither, the  
 " Constitution whereof being so limited, A single  
 " Person and a Parliament, and this was thought  
 " most agreeable to the general Sense of the Na-  
 " tion, having had experience enough by trial of  
 " other Conclusions, judging this most likely to  
 " avoid the extremes of Monarchy on the one  
 " hand, and Democracy on the other, and yet not  
 " to found Dominium in gratia. And if so, then  
 " certainly to make it more then a Notion, it  
 " was requisite that it should be as it is in the  
 " Government, which puts it upon a true and  
 " equal Ballance. It has been already submitted  
 " to the judicious honest People of this Nation,  
 " whether the Ballance be not equal, and what  
 " their Judgment is, is visible by Submission to it,  
 " by acting upon it, by restraining their Trustees  
 " from meddling with it; and it neither asks nor  
 " needs any better Ratification. But when Trustees

1654. " in Parliament shall by Experience find any evil  
" in any parts of the Government, referred by the  
" Government it self to the Consideration of the  
" Protector and Parliament ( of which time it self  
" will be the best Discoverer ) how can it be  
" reasonably imagined, that a Person or Persons  
" coming in by Election, and standing under such  
" Obligations, and so limited, and so necessitated  
" by Oath to Govern, for the People's good, and  
" to make their love, under God, the best under-  
" propping, and his best interest to him, how  
" can it, I say, be imagined, that the present or  
" succeeding Protectors will refuse to agree to alter  
" any such thing in the Government that may be  
" found to be for the good of the People, or to  
" recede from any thing which he might be con-  
" vinced casts the ballance too much to the single  
" Person? And although for the present, the  
" keeping up, and having in His Power the Mi-  
" litia, seems the most hard, yet if it should be  
" yielded up at such a time as this, when there  
" is as much need to keep this Cause by it ( which  
" is most evidently at this time impugned by all  
" the Enemies of it) as there was to get it, what  
" would become of all? Or if it should not be e-  
" qually placed in Him and the Parliament, but  
" yielded up at any time, it determines his Power,  
" either for doing the good he ought, or hindring  
" Parliaments from perpetuating themselves, or  
" from imposing what Religions they please on  
" the Consciences of men, or what Government  
" they please upon the Nation, thereby subjecting  
" us to Dis settlement in every Parliament, and to  
" the desperate Consequences thereof; and if the  
" Nation shall happen to fall into a blessed Peace,  
" how easily and certainly will their charge be  
" taken off, and their Forces be disbanded, and  
" then where will the danger be to have the  
" Militia thus stated?

" WHAT

" WHAT if I should say, If there should be a <sup>1654.</sup> disproportion or disequality as to the power, it  
" is on the other hand? And if this be so, where-  
" in have you had cause to quarrel? What De-  
" monstrations have you held forth to settle Me  
" to your opinion? would you had made me so  
" happy as to let me have known your *Grounds*.  
" I have made a free and ingenuous confession of  
" my Faith to you, and I could have wished it  
" had been in your hearts to have agreed that  
" some friendly and cordial debates might have  
" been towards mutual Conviction; was there  
" none amongst you to move such a thing? no  
" fitness to listen to it? no desire of a right un-  
" derstanding? if it be not folly in Me to listen  
" to Town-talk, such things have been proposed,  
" and rejected with stiffness and severity, once and  
" again; was it not likely to have been more ad-  
" vantagious to the good of this Nation? I will  
" say this to you for My self, and to that I have  
" my *Conscience* as a thousand Witnesses, and I  
" have my comfort and contentment in it, and I  
" have the Witness of divers here, that I think  
" truly scorn to own me in a Lye, that I would  
" not have been averse to any Alteration, of the  
" good of which I might have been convinced,  
" although I could not have agreed to the taking  
" it off the Foundation on which it stands, *viz.*  
" *The acceptation and consent of the People.*

" I WILL not presage what you have been about,  
" or doing in all this *time*, nor do I love to make  
" *Conjectures*, but I must tell you this, That as I  
" undertook this *Government* in the simplicity of  
" my heart, and as before God, and to do the  
" part of an honest man, and to be true to the  
" Interest which in my *Conscience* is dear to many  
" of you ( though it is not always understood  
" what God in his Wisdom may hide from us,  
" as to Peace and Settlement) so I can say

1654. " that no particular Interest, either of my *Self*,  
 " *Estate, Honour, or Family*, are, or have been  
 " prevalent with me to this Undertaking.

" FOR if you had upon the old Government  
 " offer'd to me this one Thing; I speak, as thus  
 " advised, and before God, as having been to this  
 " Day of this Opinion, and this hath been my  
 " constant *Judgment*, well known to many that  
 " hear me speak; if this one Thing had been  
 " inserted, that one Thing, that this *Government*  
 " should have been, and plac'd in my Family  
 " *hereditary*, I would have rejected it, \* and  
 " I could have done no other, according to my  
 " present *Conscience* and *Light*. I will tell you  
 " my Reason, though I cannot tell what God will  
 " do with me, nor you, nor the Nation, for  
 " throwing away precious Opportunities commit-  
 " ted to us.

" THIS hath been my Principle, and I liked  
 " it when this *Government* came first to be  
 " proposed to me, That it put us off that *He-  
 " reditary Way*, well looking, that as God had  
 " declar'd what *Government* he had delivered  
 " to the *Jews*, and plac'd it upon such Persons  
 " as had been instrumental for the *Conduct* and  
 " *Deliverance* of his People; and considering  
 " that Promise in *Isaiah*, That God would give  
 " *Rulers as at the first, and Judges as at the Begin-  
 " ning*; I did not know, but that God might  
 " begin, and tho' at present with a most un-  
 " worthy *Person*, yet as to the future, it might  
 " be after this Manner, and I thought this might  
 " usher it in. I am speaking as to my *Judg-*

\* Ludlow observes here, that in this he flatter'd the Ambition of Major-General Lambert, and kept him in Expectation of succeeding him, and so secur'd his Assistance in carrying on his Designs.

1654

" ment against making it *Hereditary*, to have Men  
 " chosen for their *Love to God*, and to *Truth*  
 " and *Justice*, and not to have it *hereditary* ;  
 " for as it is in *Ecclesiastes*, *Who knoweth whe-*  
 " *ther he may beget a Fool or Wise*, honest or  
 " not? whatever they be must come in upon that  
 " Account, because the *Government* is made a  
 " *Patrimony*.

" AND this I do perhaps declare with too  
 " much *Earnestness*, as being my own *Concern-*  
 " *ment*, and know not what *Place* it may have  
 " in your *Hearts*, and of the good People in  
 " the Nation; but however it be, I have Com-  
 " fort in this my Truth and Plainness.

" I HAVE thus told you my Thoughts, which  
 " truly I have declared to you in the Fear of  
 " God, as knowing he will not be mock'd,  
 " and in the Strength of God, as knowing and  
 " rejoicing that I am kept in my speaking; es-  
 " pecially, when I do not form or frame Things  
 " without the *Compass* of *Integrity* and *Honesty*,  
 " that my own *Conscience* gives me not the  
 " *Lye* to what I say, and then in what I say I  
 " can rejoice.

" Now to speak a Word or two to you, of  
 " that I must profess in the Name of the same  
 " Lord, and wish that there had been no Cause  
 " that I should have thus spoken to you, and  
 " though I have told you, that I came with  
 " Joy the first Time, with some Regret the second,  
 " that now I speak with most Regret of all.

" I LOOK upon you, as having among you ma-  
 " ny Persons, that I could lay down my Life  
 " individually for, I could, through the Grace of  
 " God, desire to lay down my Life for you:  
 " So far am I from having an unkind or un-  
 " christian Heart towards you, in your particu-  
 " lar Capacities.

" I

1654.

“ I HAVE that indeed, as a Work most incum-  
 “ bent upon me, I consulted what might be my  
 “ Duty in such a Day as this, casting up all  
 “ Considerations. I must confess, as I told you,  
 “ that I did think occasionally this Nation hath  
 “ suffered extremely in the Respects mentioned,  
 “ as also in the Disappointments of their Expec-  
 “ tations of that Justice that was due to them  
 “ by your sitting thus long; and what have you  
 “ brought forth?

“ I DID not, nor cannot apprehend what it is,  
 “ (I would be lothe to call it a Fate, that were  
 “ too Paganish a Word) but there is something  
 “ in it, that we have not our Expectations.

“ I DID think also for my self, that I am like  
 “ to meet with Difficulties, and that this Nation  
 “ will not (as it is fit it should not) be deluded  
 “ with Pretexts of Necessity in that great Busi-  
 “ ness of raising of Money; and were it not that  
 “ I can make some Dilemma's upon which to  
 “ resolve some Things of my Conscience, Judg-  
 “ ment, and Actions, I should sink at the very  
 “ Prospect of my Encounters; some of them are  
 “ general, some are more special, supposing this  
 “ Cause, or this Business must be carried on: Ei-  
 “ ther it is of God, or of Man, if it be of  
 “ Man, I would I had never touched it with a  
 “ Finger; if I had not had a Hope fix'd in  
 “ me, that this Cause, and this Business is of  
 “ God, I would many Years ago have run from  
 “ it. If it be of God, he will bear it up. If  
 “ it be of Man, it will tumble, as every Thing  
 “ that hath been of Man, since the World be-  
 “ gan, hath done. And what are all our His-  
 “ tories and other Traditions of Actions in for-  
 “ mer Times, but God manifesting himself that  
 “ he hath shaken and tumbled down, and tramp-  
 “ led upon, every Thing that he hath not plant-  
 “ ed?

" ed? And as this is, so the all-wise God deal  
" with it.

" IF this be of human Structure, and Inven-  
" tion, and it be an old *Plotting* and *Contriv-  
" ance* to bring Things to this *Issue*, and they  
" are not the *Births* of *Providence*, then they  
" will tumble. But if the Lord take Pleasure  
" in *England*, and if he will do us good, he  
" is able to bear us up: Let the Difficulties  
" be whatsoever they will, we shall in his Strength  
" be able to encounter with them. And I bles  
" God I have been inured to *Difficulties*, and I  
" never found God failing when I trusted in him;  
" I can laugh and sing in my Heart when I speak  
" of these Things to you, or elsewhere. And  
" though some may think it is an hard Thing  
" without *parliamentary Authority* to raise *Money*  
" upon this *Nation*; yet I have another Ar-  
" gument to the good People of this Nation,  
" if they would be safe, and have no better  
" Principle; whether they prefer the having  
" of their *Will*, though it be their *De-  
" struction*, rather than comply with Things  
" of Necessity; that will excuse me; but I  
" should wrong my native Country to suppose  
" this.

" FOR I look at the People of these Nati-  
" ons, as the Blessing of the Lord, and they  
" are a People blessed by God. They have been  
" so, and they will be so, by reason of that *im-  
" mortal Seed*, which hath been, and is a-  
" mong them, those regenerated ones in the  
" Land, of several Judgments, who are all the  
" Flock of Christ, and Lambs of Christ, tho'  
" perhaps under many unruly Passions, and Trou-  
" bles of Spirits, whereby they give Disquiet  
" to themselves and others; yet they are not so  
" to God, as to us; he is a God of other Pa-  
" tience, and he will own the least of Truth  
" in

1654. "in the Hearts of his People, and the Peo-  
ple being the Blessing of God they will not  
be so angry, but they will prefer their Safety to  
their Passions, and their real Security to  
Forms, when Necessity calls for Supplies; had  
they not well been acquainted with this Prin-  
ciple, they had never seen this Day of Gof-  
pel-liberty.

"BUT if any Man shall object, It is an easy  
Thing to talk of Necessities, when Men create  
Necessities; would not the *Lord Protector* make  
himself great, and his Family great? doth not  
he make these Necessities? and then he will  
come upon the People with this Argument of  
Necessity.

"THIS were something hard indeed, but I  
have not yet known what it is to make Ne-  
cessities, whatsoever the Judgments or Thoughts  
of Men are. And I say this, not only to  
this Assembly, but to the World, that that  
Man liveth not, that can come to me, and  
charge me that I have in these great Re-  
volutions made Necessities; I challenge even  
all that fear God; and as God hath said,  
*My Glory I will not give unto another*, let Men  
take heed, and be twice advised, how they  
call his Revolutions, the Things of God, and  
his working of Things from one Period to  
another, how, I say, they call them Necessi-  
ties of Mens Creation; for by so doing, they  
do vilify and lessen the Works of God, and  
rob him of his Glory, which he hath said,  
*he will not give unto another*, nor suffer to be  
taken from him. We know what God did  
to *Herod* when he was applauded, and did not  
acknowledge God; and God knoweth what  
he will do with Men, when they shall call  
his Revolutions human Designs, and so de-  
tract from his Glory, when they have not  
been

“ been fore-cast, but sudden Providences in 1654  
“ Things, whereby carnal and worldly Men  
“ are enraged, and under, and at which many  
“ I fear (some good) have murmured and re-  
“ pined, because disappointed of their mistaken  
“ Fancies; but still they have been the wise  
“ Disposings of the Almighty, though Instruments  
“ have had their Passions and Frailties;  
“ and I think it is an Honour to God to ac-  
“ knowledge the Necessities to have been of  
“ God’s imposing, when truly they have been  
“ so, as indeed they have, when we take our  
“ Sin in our Actings to our selves; and much  
“ more safe, than to judge Things so contingent,  
“ as if there were not a God that ruled upon  
“ Earth.

“ WE know the Lord hath poured this Na-  
“ tion from Vessel to Vessel, till he poured it in-  
“ to your Lap, when you came first together:  
“ I am confident, that it came so into your  
“ Hands, was not judged by you to be from  
“ counterfeited or feign’d Necessity, but by di-  
“ vine Providence and Dispensation. And this I  
“ speak with more earneitess, because I speak  
“ for God, and not for Men; I would have  
“ any Man to come and tell of the Transacti-  
“ ons that have been, and of those Periods of  
“ Time, wherein God hath made these *Revo-*  
“ *lutions*, and find where they can fix a feigned  
“ Necessity.

“ I COULD recite Particulars, if either my  
“ Strength would serve me to speak, or yours  
“ to hear; if that you would revolve the great  
“ Hand of God in his great Dispensations, you  
“ would find that there is scarce a Man that fell  
“ off at any Period of Time when God had  
“ any Work to do, that can give God or his  
“ Work, at this Day, a good Word.

“ IT

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" IT was, say some, the Cunning of the Lord  
" Protector (I take it to my self) it was the  
" Craft of such a Man, and his Plot that  
" hath brought it about. And as they say in  
" other Countries, there are five or six cunning  
" Men in *England* that have *Skill*, they do all  
" these Things: Oh what *Blasphemy* is this!  
" Because Men that are without God in the  
" *World*, and walk not with him, and know not  
" what it is to *pray*, or *believe*, and to receive Re-  
" turns from God, and to be *spoken unto* by  
" the Spirit of God, who *speaks* without a writ-  
" ten Word sometimes, yet according to it: God  
" hath spoken heretofore in divers Manners, let  
" him speak as he pleaseth. Hath he not given  
" us *Liberty*? Nay, is it not our Duty to go  
" to the *Law* and to the *Testimonies*, and there  
" we shall find that there have been Impressions  
" in extraordinary Cases, as well without the  
" written Word as with it; and therefore there  
" is no Difference in the Thing thus assert-  
" ed, from Truths generally receiv'd, except we  
" will exclude the *Spirit*, without whose Con-  
" currence all other Teachings are *ineffectual*.  
" He doth speak to the Hearts and Conscien-  
" ces of Men, and leadeth them to his Law and  
" Testimonies, and there he speaks to them,  
" and so gives them double Teachings, according  
" to that of *Job*, God speaketh once, yea twice;  
" and that of *David*, God hath spoken once, yea  
" twice have I heard this. Those Men that  
" live upon their *Mumpimus* and *Sumpimus*, their  
" *Masses* and *Service-books*, their dead and car-  
" nal Worship, no marvel if they be Strangers  
" to God, and the *Works* of God, and to spi-  
" ritual Dispensations. And because they say and  
" believe thus, must we do so too? we in  
" this *Land* have been otherwise instructed, e-  
" ven

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" ven by the *Word*, and *Works*, and *Spirit* of God.

" To say that *Men* bring forth these Things, " when *God* doth them, judge you if *God* will " bear this. I wish that every sober *Heart*, " though he hath had *Temptations* upon him of " deserting this *Cause* of *God*, yet may take heed " how he provokes, and *falls into the Hands* " of the living *God*, by such *Blasphemies* as these, " according to the tenth of the *Hebrews*, If " we sin wilfully after that we have received the " Knowledge of the Truth, there remains no more " Sacrifice for Sin (It was spoken to the *Jews*, " that having professed Christ apostatized from " him) what then? nothing but a fearful fal- " ling into the *Hands* of the living *God*.

" THEY that shall attribute to this or that *Per-*  
" son the Contrivances and Production of those  
" mighty Things *God* hath wrought in the  
" midst of us, and that they have not been  
" the Revolutions of Christ himself, upon whose  
" Shoulders the Government is laid, they speak  
" against *God*, and they fall under his Hand  
" without a Mediator; that is, if we deny the  
" Spirit of Jesus Christ the Glory of all his  
" Works in the World, by which he rules  
" Kingdoms, and doth administer, and is the  
" Rod of his Strength, we provoke the Media-  
" tor; and he may say, I'll leave you to *God*,  
" I'll not intercede for you, let him tear you to  
" Pieces, I'll leave thee to fall into *God's Hands*,  
" thou deniest me my Sovereignty and Power  
" committed to me, I'll not intercede nor me-  
" diate for thee, thou fallest into the *Hands* of  
" the living *God*. Therefore whatsoever you may  
" judge *Men* for, and say, this Man is cunning,  
" and politick, and subtle, take heed, again I  
" say, how you judge of his *Revolutions*, as the  
" Products of Mens Inventions.

" I

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“ I MAY be thought to press too much upon this Theme, but I pray God it may stick upon your Hearts and mine. *The worldly minded Man* knows nothing of this, but is a Stranger to it; and because of this is his *Atheism* and murmuring at *Instruments*, yea, repining at *God himself*; and no Wonder, considering the Lord hath done such Things amongst us as have not been known in the World these thousand Years, and yet notwithstanding is not owned by us.

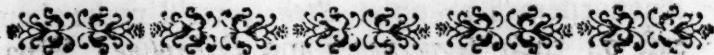
“ THERE is another *Necessity* which you have put upon us, and we have not sought; I appeal to God, Angels, and Men, if I shall raise Money according to the Article in the Government, which had Power to call you hither, and did, and instead of seasonable providing for the Army, you have labour'd to overthrow the Government, and the Army is now upon *free Quarter*, and you would never so much as let me hear a Tittle from you concerning it; where is the Fault? Has it not been as if you had had a Purpose to put this Extremity upon us and the Nation? I hope this was not in your Minds, I am not willing to judge so; but this is the State unto which we are reduc'd: By the *Designs* of some in the Army, who are now in *Custody*, it was *designed* to get as many of them as they could, through Discontent for Want of Money, the Army being in a barren Country, near thirty Weeks behind in Pay, and upon other specious Pretences, to march for England out of Scotland, and in Discontent to seize their General there, a faithful and honest Man, that so another might head the Army; and all this Opportunity taken from your Delays; whether will this be a Thing of feign'd *Necessity*? What could it signify but that

“ the

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" the Army are in *Discontent* already, and we'll  
 " make them live upon *Stones*, we'll make them  
 " cast off their *Governours* and *Discipline*? What  
 " can be said to this? I list not to unsaddle my  
 " self, and put the Fault upon others *Backs* ;  
 " whether it hath been for the good of *Eng-*  
 " *land*, whilst Men have been talking of this  
 " Thing or the other, and pretending *Liberty*,  
 " and a many good Words, whether it hath been  
 " as it should have been? I am confident you  
 " cannot think it has, the Nation will not  
 " think so. And if the worst should be made  
 " of Things, I know not what the *Cornish-*  
 " *Men*, or the *Lincolnshire-Men* may think, or o-  
 " ther Counties, but I believe they will all think  
 " they are not safe. A temporary Suspensi-  
 " on of caring for the greatest *Liberties* and  
 " Privileges (if it were so, which is denied)  
 " would not have been of that Damage, that the  
 " not providing against *free Quarter* hath run  
 " the Nation upon. And if it be my *Liberty* to  
 " walk abroad in the *Fields*, or to take a *Jour-*  
 " *ney*, yet it is not my *Wisdom* to do so when  
 " my *House is on Fire*.

" I HAVE troubled you with a long *Speech*,  
 " and I believe it may not have the same Re-  
 " sentment with all that it hath with some; but  
 " because this is unknown to me, I shall leave  
 " it to God, and conclude with that, · that I  
 " think my self bound in my Duty to God,  
 " and the People of these Nations, to their  
 " Safety and *Good* in every Respect; I think  
 " it my Duty to tell you, That it is not for  
 " the *Profit* of these Nations, nor for *Common*  
 " and *Publick Good*, for you to continue here  
 " any longer; and therefore, I do Declare  
 " unto you, That I do dissolve this *Parlia-*  
 " *ment.*"



## C H A P. V.

*From the Dissolution of his second PARLIAMENT, to the Meeting of his third PARLIAMENT.*

THUS the Protector in great Displeasure, and in this upbraiding Manner, parted with his second Parliament; which as it increas'd the Indignation of the Republicans, so it gave great Encouragement to the Royalists, to go on with the Designs they had now on Foot; so that both Parties, for King and Common-wealth, were in Rage, and Plots, and Arms against him.

*Wildman's Major John Wildman*, a noted Common-wealth's Declarati-  
on. Man, whom the Protector had expell'd the House

at the first Opening of the Session, was seiz'd with a Paper dictated by him, intituled, *The Declaration of the free and well-affected People of England, now in Arms against the Tyrant Oliver Cromwell Esq;* and beginning thus; “ Being satisfy'd in our Judgment and Consciences of the Present Necessity to take up Arms for the Defence of our native Rights and Freedoms, which are wholly invaded and swallow'd up in the Pride and Ambition of Oliver Cromwell, who calls himself Lord Protector of England, and hath render'd all Englishmen no better than his Vassals, &c.” But this Man, contrary to the Expectation of all his Friends, who thought of nothing but his Death, was after a short Imprisonment discharg'd and set at full Liberty. The Protector at the same Time us'd all imaginable Arts to secure himself,

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self, and prevent a universal Odium: He pay'd the Fleet and Army well, and discharg'd all Officers whose Fidelity he suspected; carry'd it very fair with the City of *London*, giving them the Power of their own Militia, under their old Leader Major-General *Skippon*, treating them and accepting of Treats from them; eas'd the common People of some customary Burdens, and some Part of their Taxes; and us'd an indefatigable Diligence and unbounded Expence in procuring Intelligence, and early crushing all Designs against him. So that tho' his Mother (who dy'd this Year, and was buried with extraordinary Pomp and Solemnity) was in continual fear of her Son's Life, and when she heard any Gun go off, would cry out that *her Son was shot*, and could not be easy without seeing him safe once or twice a Day; and tho' a thousand of his Enemies did really believe, that killing him would be no *Murder*, yet he had the good Fortune to escape all Dangers.

THE *Cavalier Plot* was still on Foot, which Several the Protector had a Jealousy was countenanc'd by Risings the Parliament; and he gave out that to be a for the Cause of his Dissolving them. The Project was, to have several Parties rise together in several Parts of the Nation, about the beginning of *March*; and tho' upon the private Intelligence the Protector had receiv'd, several Persons were apprehended, and many Arms seiz'd, yet it was still resolv'd to attempt something. To this end, a Cart-load of Arms was brought to the Place of Rendezvous for the northern Parts, where 'twas reported the *Conspirators* were to be headed by *Wilmot Earl of Rochester*. But being somewhat alarm'd at their first Meeting, and apprehensive of the regular Forces falling upon them before they were sufficiently prepar'd, they dispers'd themselves, leaving their Arms behind.

1654. hind them. The Design was not so soon over in the West, where Sir Joseph Wagstaff, Colonel Penruddock, Captain Hugh Grove, Mr. Jones and other Persons of Condition, enter'd *Salisbury* with a Body of two hundred Horse well arm'd, expecting there to have their Numbers daily augmented. It was the Time of the Assizes, and they came thither about five a-Clock in the Morning; where having proclaim'd the King, they seiz'd the Judges, *Rolls* and *Nicolas*, and took away their Commissions. They also seiz'd the Sheriff, and *Wagstaff* resolv'd to hang all three of them; but others not agreeing to it, they were at last set at Liberty. Their Forces not at all answering their first Expectations, they retir'd to *Dog-town*, and from thence march'd as far as *Blandford* in *Dorsetshire*, where most Men look'd upon them as flying, several of their own Party stealing from them as fast as others came to them; and those who continu'd with them, did so rather to secure themselves and obtain better Conditions, than from any Expectation of Success in their Undertaking. Captain *Unton Crook*, having Intelligence of their Motions, pursu'd them into *Devonshire*, and at *South-Molton* fell upon them and totally defeated them: Most of them were taken Prisoners, and amongst them *Penruddock*, *Grove*, and *Jones*; *Wagstaff*, *Mason*, and *Mompesson* narrowly escaping. *Penruddock* and *Grove* were beheaded at *Exeter*, and others were hang'd in that City; some of them were sent to *Salisbury*, the Place where they had so lately triumph'd, and there try'd and executed; and many were transported to the *West-Indies*. Thus these Insurrections, which at first seem'd to threaten the whole Kingdom, expir'd for the present, and the Protector was secur'd without the Help of his Army.

They are  
suppress'd

THIS

THIS Plot, which was laid to ruin the Protector, prov'd in the Issue of great Advantage to him, advanc'd his Credit, and serv'd to confirm his Authority the more. It clear'd him of the Reproach of inventing Plots himself for an Excuse and Pretence to continue such numerous Forces in Pay; and the little Success the King's Party met with, was judg'd a good Proof that there was not yet sufficient Force for the Safety and Quiet of the Kingdom. From hence he took Occasion, with the Advice of his Council, to make an Order, "That all who had born Arms for the King, or had declar'd themselves to be of his Party, should be Decimated, or pay a tenth Part of their Estates, to support the Charge of such extraordinary Forces, as their turbulent and seditious Practices oblig'd him to keep up." Commissioners were appointed in every County for this Purpose; and by this Means incredible Sums of Money were brought into the Protector's Coffers. He likewise committed to Prison many of those whom he suspected, as the Earl of Oxford, the Lords Willoughby of Parham, Newport, and Compton, Littleton, Peyton, Packington, Ashburnham, Russel, Legg, Philips, Halsey, and several others. He had also a very watchful Eye over the Republicans, and Fifth-Monarchy Men, and gave Monk Orders to seize Major-General Overton, Major Bramstone, Holms, and other Officers. Overton was sent up to London and committed to the Tower, and his Regiment given to Colonel Morgan, Colonel Okey's to the Lord Howard, and Cornet Joyce, now Colonel, was likewise cashier'd. And finally, The Protector to provide for all Inconveniences, as well amongst the People as in the Army, he divided England, points as 'twere, into so many Cantons, over each of which he plac'd one called by the Name of Major-Generals,

1655. Major-General; which Major-Generals were in the Nature of Prefects or Governors of Provinces. These Men were to have the Inspection and Government of the inferior Commissioners in every County, to commit to Prison all such Persons as they suspected, to levy all Moneys which were order'd by his Highness and his Council to be collected for the Publick, to sequester all who did not pay their *Decimation*, and to put in execution such farther Directions as they should receive; and there was no Appeal from any of their A&ts, but to the Protector himself. Their Names and several Divisions were as follows: Colonel Kelsey was Major-General for Kent and Surry; Colonel Goffe for Sussex, Hampshire, and Berkshire; Colonel Desborough for Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall; Lieutenant General Fleetwood for Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hartfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk; Major General Skippon for the City of London; Commissary General Whaley for Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Warwickshire, and Leicestershire; Major Butler for Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Rutland, and Huntingdonshire; Colonel Berry for Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, and North-Wales; Colonel Whortley for Cheshire, Lancashire, and Staffordshire; Major General Lambert for Yorkshire, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Northumberland; and Colonel Barkstead for the City of Westminster, and Middlesex.

THESE Major-Generals carry'd Things with a very high Hand, Decimating to Extremity whom they pleas'd, interrupting the Proceedings at Law, upon Petitions of those who thought themselves aggrev'd, and threatening such

such as would not readily submit to their Orders with Transportation to the *West-Indies*. A certain Farmer in *Berkshire*, being requir'd to pay his Tenth, ask'd the Commissioners, in case he did so, *What Security he should have for the other nine Parts*; and it being answer'd, *That he should have the Protector's Order and theirs for the Enjoyment of the rest*; he reply'd, *That he had already an Act of Parliament for the whole, which he could not but think to be as good Security as they could give: But, said he, if Goodman such a one and such a one, (naming two of his Neighbours) will give me their Bond for it, I know what to say to such a Proposal; for if they break their Agreement, I know where to right myself; but these Sword-Men are too strong for me.*

ABOUT this Time also, the Protector having laid some extraordinary Tax upon the City, one <sup>of one Com-</sup> <sup>m,</sup> Cony, who had formerly serv'd him in bringing about his Designs, positively refus'd to pay Taxes <sup>refus'd to pay Taxes</sup> to <sup>Crom-</sup> Share, and vehemently dissuaded others from well. complying with it: Hereupon the Protector sent for him, and put him in mind of the old Friendship that had been between them, telling him, *That of all Men he did not expect this Opposition from him, in a Matter that was so necessary for the good of the Commonwealth.* Cony in return remember'd him, how great an Enemy he had express'd himself to such Grievances, and how he had declar'd, *That all who submitted to pay illegal Taxes, were greater Enemies to their Country than they who impos'd them; and that the Tyranny of Princes could never be grievous, but by the Tameness and Stupidity of the People.* When the Protector saw he could not bring him over, he told him, *That he had a Will as stubborn as his, and he would try which of them two should be Master;* and thereupon committed

1654.  
Story of a  
Farmer of  
*Berkshire.*

1655. him to Prison. As soon as the Term came on, the Prisoner brought his *Habeas Corpus* in the King's-Bench, now call'd the Upper-Bench. Maynard, Twisden, and Windham being of Council for him, demanded his Liberty, both upon the Illegality of the Commitment, and of the Imposition. The Judges could not defend either, and it appear'd plainly what their Sentence would be; so that the Protector's Attorney requir'd a farther Day to answer what had been urg'd. But before that Time, the Three who were his Council were committed to the Tower; and the Judges were sent for and severely reprimanded, for suffering the Liberty they had taken: And when they humbly alledg'd the Law and *Magna Charta*, the Protector told them, *Their Magna F— should not controle his Actions, which he knew were for the Safety of the Commonwealth*; and ask'd them, *Who made them Judges? And whether they had any Authority to set there but what he gave them*; and therefore he advis'd them to be more tender of that which only could preserve them, and sent them away with this Caution, *That they should not suffer the Lawyers to prate, what it would not become them to hear.*

Of Sir Peter Wentworth.

AT another Time, Sir Peter Wentworth, a Member of the Long Parliament, caus'd a Collector in the Country to be prosecuted at his Suit, tho' he could scarce procure any Attorney to appear, or Council to plead for him. The Protector being inform'd of this Prosecution, sent a Messenger to bring Sir Peter before the Council; where being ask'd the Reason of this Proceeding, he told them, *That he was mov'd to it by his constant Principle, That by the Law of England no Money ought to be levy'd upon the People, without their Consent in Parliament.* The Protector

tor then ask'd him, *Whether he would withdraw his Action or no;* to which he reply'd, *If you will command me, I must submit:* Cromwell therefore commanding it, he accordingly withdrew his Action; and so this Matter ended.

BUT tho' the Protector proceeded in this arbitrary Manner against those who contested his Authority; yet in all other Cases, where the Life of his Jurisdiction was not concern'd, he seem'd to have a great Reverence for the Law, and the Constitution, rarely interposing between Party and Party; and to do him Justice, there appear'd in his Government many Things that were truly great and Praise-worthy. Justice, as well Distributive as Commutative, was by him restor'd almost to its antient Grace and Splendor; the Judges executing their Office without Covetousness, according to Law and Equity, and the Laws, except some few, where himself was immediately concern'd, being permitted to have their full Force upon all, without Impediment or Delay. Mens Manners, outwardly at least, became likewise reform'd, either by removing the Incentives to Luxury, or by means of the antient Laws now reviv'd, and put in execution. There was a strict Discipline kept in his Court, where Drunkenness, Whoredom, and Extortion were either banish'd, or severely rebuk'd. Trade began again to flourish and prosper, and most Things to put on a happy and promising Aspect. The Protector also shew'd a great Regard to the Advancement of Learning, and was a great Encourager of it. The University of Oxford, in particular, acknowledg'd his Highness's Respect to them, in continuing their Chancellor, and bestowing on the publick Library there four and twenty Greek Manuscripts, and munificently allowing an hundred Pounds a Year to a Divinity Reader,

1655.

Many  
Things  
worthy of  
Praise in  
the Pro-  
tector's  
Govern-  
ment.

1655. ABOUT this Time, a Design was form'd by the Protector, of settling the *Jews* again in this His De- Nation ; and *Manasseh Ben-Israel*, a great Rabbi, sign of re- came over and made his stated Proposals, and had admitting the *Jews*, a Conference upon them, for re-admitting that People to exercise Trade and Worship in *England*. The Protector, on this Occasion, sent for divers Ministers of the Gospel, and laid those Proposals before them ; and at the same time with great earnestness declar'd his Opinion, " That since " there was a Promise that they should be con- " verted, Means ought to be us'd to that End ; " and the most likely Way was, the Preaching " of the Gospel in Truth and Sincerity, as it was " then in *England*, devoid of all Popish Idolatry, " which had render'd the Christian Religion odi- " ous to them." But this Design was so violent- ly oppos'd that it came to nothing. 'Tis said the Protector had the Promise of 200000*l.* from the *Jews*, in case he procur'd this Toleration for them ; which made him so earnest to bring it about : But Bishop *Burnet* informs us, that he enter'd into this Treaty with them for the sake of Intelligence. His Words are these: " When he " understood what Dealers the *Jews* were every " where in that Trade that depends on News, " the advancing Money upon high or low Interest " in proportion to the Risque they run, or the " Gain to be made as the Times might turn, and " in the buying and selling of the Actions of " Money so advanc'd, he, more upon that Ac- " count, than in Compliance with the Principle " of Toleration, brought a Company of them over " to *England*, and gave them leave to build a " Synagogue. All the while that he was negoti- " ating this, they were sure and good Spies for " him, especially with relation to *Spain* and *Por- tugal.*"

UPON

UPON this the Bishop tells this Story, which 1655.  
 he had from the Earl of Orrery : That as that <sup>A Story on  
this Oc-  
caſion.</sup>  
 Earl was once walking with *Cromwell* in one of  
 the Galleries of *White-Hall*, a Man almost in Rags  
 appear'd in View ; upon which he immediately dis-  
 miss'd the Earl, and took that Person with him  
 into his Closet ; who told him of a great Sum of  
 Money, that the *Spaniards* were sending over in  
 a *Dutch* Man-of-War, to pay their Army in *Flan-  
ders* ; and also whereabouts in the Ship the said  
 Money was reposed. The Protector then im-  
 mediately sent an Express to *Smith* (afterwards  
 Sir *Jeremy Smith*) who lay in the *Downs*, inform-  
 ing him, " That within a Day or two such a  
 " *Dutch* Ship would pass the *Channel*, which he  
 " must search for the *Spanish* Money, which was  
 " *Contraband Goods* ; " his Highness being then  
 at War with *Spain*. Accordingly, when the Ship  
 pass'd by *Dover*, *Smith* sent and demanded Leave  
 to search him. The *Dutch* Captain return'd him  
 this Answer, *That none but his Masters might search  
him* : Upon which, *Smith* sent him Word again,  
*That he had set up an Hour-glass, and if he did not  
submit to the Search before it was run out, he  
would force him*. The Captain seeing it was in  
 vain to struggle, submitted in time, and so all the  
 Money was found. And the next time his High-  
 ness saw the Lord *Orrery*, he told him, he had  
 his Intelligence from that seemingly forlorn Man  
 he saw him go to some Days before.

THE Lords Commissioners of the great Seal, He makes  
 were Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, *Whitelock*, and *Lisle*; a Change  
 and *William Lenthal Esq*; was Master of the Rolls. in his Mi-  
 nistry.  
*Widdrington*, *Whitelock*, and *Lenthal* made their  
 Exceptions against executing an Ordinance of the  
 Lord Protector and his Council, *For the better re-  
gulating and limiting the Jurisdiction of the High  
Court of Chancery* : Upon which his Highness not  
 enduring his Authority or his Acts should be dis-  
 puted,

1655. puted, sent for them to the Council-Chamber, and there requir'd them to lay down the Seal and withdraw. He kept it a few Days in his own Hands, and then gave it to Major *Lisle*, one of the former Commissioners, and Colonel *Fiennes*. And that *Widdrington* and *Whitelock*, the ejected Commissioners, might not be too much disgusted, his Highness appointed them Commissioners of the Treasury; and he continu'd *Lenthal* in his Fa-  
vour for past Services.

**Appoints a Committee of Trade.** ABOUT this Time the Lord Protector and his Council appointed a Committee of Trade, to consider how to improve, order and regulate the Trade and Navigation of the Common-wealth. This was an Affair of great importance to the Nation, and his Highness was very earnest and intent upon it.

As the Protector's Power was very great at Home, so his Influence was no less considerable Abroad. About this time an Ambassador Extraordinary from *Sweden* came over in great Pomp and State, and with much Ceremony and Solem-  
nity had his Audience of his Highness in the *Banqueting-House* at *Whitehall*. The Ambassador spake in the *Swedish* Language, and his Secretary interpreted what he said in *Latin*. When he had done, the Lord Protector stood still for some Time, and then putting off his Hat to the Ambassador, with a Carriage full of Gravity and State, he answer'd him in *English* as follows :

**His Answer to the Swedish Ambassador.**

" My Lord Ambassador, I have great Reason to acknowledge, with thankfulness, the Respects and good Affection of the King your Master towards this Common-wealth, and towards my self in particular ; whereof I shall always retain a very grateful Memory, and shall be ready upon all Occasions to manifest the high Sense and Value I have of his Majesty's Friendship and Alliance. My Lord, you are very well."

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" welcome into *England*; and during your Abode  
" here, you shall find all due Regard and Respect  
" to be given to your Person, and to the Busi-  
" ness about which you come. I am very will-  
" ing to enter into a nearer and more strict Al-  
" liance and Friendship with the King of *Swed-*  
" *land*, as that which in my Judgment will tend  
" much to the Honour and Commodity of both  
" Nations, and to the general Advantage of the  
" Protestant Interest. I shall nominate some Per-  
" sons, to meet and treat with your Lordship  
" upon such Particulars as you shall communicate  
" to them."

THE Protector's greatest Difficulty in his for-Is in sus-  
eign Affairs, was, which side to chuse, *France* or *pence*  
*Spain*. The latter offer'd, that if his Highness whether  
would joyn with them, they would engage them-<sup>to joyn</sup>  
selves to make no Peace, till he should recover *France* or  
*Calais* again to the *English*. The Protector was *Spain*.  
very well pleas'd with this, thinking it would re-  
commend him much to the Nation, to restore  
that Town again to the *English* Empire, after it  
had been a hundred Years possest by the *French*.  
Cardinal *Mazarine* having Intelligence of this  
Offer made by the *Spaniards*, that he might out-  
bid them, promis'd, in case the Protector would  
joyn with *France*, to assist him in taking of *Dun-*  
*kirk*, a Place of much more Importance. His Inclines  
Highnes was still for some Time in suspence,<sup>to the for-</sup>  
but that which inclin'd him very much to join  
with *France*, was this; he saw that if *France*  
should assist the King or his Brother with an  
Army of *Hugonots*, to make a Descent into *Eng-*  
*land*, (which was threatned, if he should join  
with *Spain*) this might be of very dangerous Con-  
sequence to him, who had so many Enemies at  
Home, and so few Friends; whereas the *Spani-*  
*ards* could give those Princes no Strength, nor had  
they any *Protestant* Subjects to assist them in such  
an

1655. an Enterprize. This Consideration made a great Impression on him; and whilst he was casting in his Mind, what was fit to be done, one *Gage*, formerly a Priest, came over from the *West-Indies*, and gave him such a Relation of the Weakness, as well as of the Riches of the *Spaniards* in those Parts, that he concluded it would be both an important and easy Conquest, to seize on their Dominions there. By this he hop'd to supply himself with such a Treasure, that his Government would be establish'd, before he should need to have any Recourse to a Parliament for Money. And as the *Spaniards* would never admit of a Peace with *England* between the Tropicks, he was in a State of War with them as to those Parts, even before he declar'd War against them in Eu-

*Sets out a rope.* Upon this, he prepar'd a Fleet, with a Fleet for Force sufficient, as he thought, to have seiz'd *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*; *Gage* having assur'd him, that Success in that Expedition would soon make him Master of all the rest. When the Time of setting out this Fleet came on, all Men wonder'd whither it should be design'd. Some imagin'd it was to rob the Church of *Loretto*; and this Apprehension occasion'd a Fortification to be drawn round it: Others talk'd of *Rome* it self; for the Protector's Preachers often gave out, *That if it were not for the Divisions at Home, he would go and sack Babylon*. Others thought the design was against *Cadiz*, tho' he had not yet broke with *Spain*. The *French* knew nothing of the Secret; and the Protector not having finish'd his Alliance with them, was not oblig'd to impart to them the Reason of his Preparations. All he said about it was this, *That he sent out the Fleet to guard the Seas, and to restore England to its Dominion on that Element.*

THIS

1655!

THIS Fleet consisting of about Thirty Men of War, under the Command of Vice-Admiral *Penn*, with about four Thousand Land-Soldiers, to be commanded by *Venables*, set Sail in the beginning of this Year, directly for *Barbadoes*, where the two Commanders were order'd to break open their Comissions. Being safely arriv'd there, and new Men taken in to encrease the Land-Army, they sail'd to the Island of *Hispaniola*. Coming which about the middle of *April* before *Santo Domingo*, meets the chief Port of that Country, *Venables* landed with ill Success. his Men in an ill Place, different from the Orders he had receiv'd from the Lord Protector, and march'd them thro' such thick Woods and uneasy Passages, that the *Spaniards*, with a very unequal Number, beat them back. After this they advanc'd again towards the Town, taking *Negroes* for their Guides, who led them into an Ambuscade; so that they were again shamefully repuls'd to the Bay where they landed, with the loss of Major General *Haines*, and above six hundred Men. They were soon forc'd to re-imbarke; and then to make some amends for this unhappy Mis-carriage, they made another Descent on the Island of *Jamaica*, and obtain'd an easy Possession of it; which Island has ever since remain'd in the Hands of the *English*: Where leaving a good Body of Foot to secure it, they sail'd back to *England*. The Lord Protector was never so much disturb'd as at this Disaster at *Hispaniola*; so that *Penn* and *Venables* were no sooner come on Shore, but he committed them both to the Tower, and could never be prevail'd on to trust either of them again.

ABOUT the time that *Penn* and *Venables* set out on this unfortunate Expedition, Admiral *Blake* sail'd with another Fleet into the *Mediterranean*, to scour those Seas of the *Turkish* Pirates; and not meeting with any of them, he bravely resolv'd to seek them out in their Ports. He came first

*Blake's  
Success in  
the Medi-  
terranean.*

1655. first before *Algiers*, and sending to the *Dye* demanded that all the *English* Ships might be restor'd, and all the *English* Slaves releas'd. The *Dye* hereupon sent a rich Present to *Blake*, with some Store of fresh Provisions, and gave him to understand, " That the Ships and Captives all ready taken belong'd to private Men, therefore not so much in his Power; but yet they should be restor'd at a moderate Ransom; and if the Admiral thought good, they would conclude a Peace, and for the future offer no Acts of Violence to any of the *English* Ships and Natives." A Peace being accordingly concluded, *Blake* sail'd from thence to *Tunis*, where having made the same Demand as at *Algiers*, instead of the like Submission, he receiv'd this resolute Answer, " That there were their Castles of *Goletta*, and their Ships and Castles of *Porto-Ferino*; he might do his Worst, for he should not think to fright them with the Sight of his Fleet." Provok'd at this Answer, *Blake* resolv'd to destroy their Ships in *Porto-Ferino*. Accordingly they Man'd their Long-boats with stout Seamen, and sent them into the Harbour to fire those Ships; whilst the Admiral himself with all his Fleet thunder'd most furiously with his Cannon against their Castles. The Seamen, in the mean Time, so bravely perform'd their Parts, that all the nine *Turkis* Ships of War were soon reduc'd to Ashes, with the Loss of only twenty five Men, and forty eight wounded, on the *English* Side. These were Actions of the highest Conduct and Courage, which made the *English* Name very formidable in those Seas.

THE King of *Spain*, provok'd at the late Attempt upon his Dominions in the *West-Indies*, declar'd War against *England*; and the Protector on the other Hand dispatch'd Orders to Admiral

miral *Blake*, to watch the Return of the *Span- 1655.*  
*ish* Plate-Fleet, and make what Destruction he could upon the Coasts of *Spain*; and thought fit <sup>The Pro-</sup> now to finish his Alliance with *France*, sending <sup>tector</sup> *Lockhart* his Ambassador thither for that End. <sup>concludes</sup> His Highness undertook to send over an Army <sup>his Alli-</sup> of 6000 Foot; and when the Forts of *Dunkirk France*.  
and *Mardyke* should be taken, they were to be put into his Hands: And the *French* King like-  
wise oblig'd himself by this Treaty not to permit King *Charles*, nor his Brothers, nor any of his Relations and Adherents, excepting the Queen Mother, to remain in any Part of his Dominions.

ABOUT this Time, the Protector had two sig- <sup>1656.</sup>  
nal Occasions given him, to exercise his Charity, Two and display his Power, and shew his Zeal in pro- <sup>great Ac-</sup>  
tecting the *Protestants* abroad. The Duke of <sup>Cromwell</sup> *Savoy* rais'd a new Persecution of the *Vaudors*, in Favour cruelly murdering and massacring many of them, and driving the rest from their Dwellings into the <sup>of the Pro-</sup>  
Mountains. Upon this the Protector sent to <sup>testants a-</sup>  
*Mazarine*, desiring him to put a stop to these Proceedings; adding, *That he knew well they had the Duke in their Power, and could restrain him as they pleas'd; and if they did not, he must presently break with them.* The Cardinal objected to this, as unreasonable: He promis'd to do good Offices; but said, he could not answer for the Effects. However, nothing would satisfy the Protector, till they oblig'd the Duke of *Savoy* to restore all he had unjustly taken from his Protestant Subjects, and to renew all their former Privileges. The Lord Protector also rais'd a great sum of Money for them, and sent over *Morland* to settle all their Affairs, and supply all their Losses. The other Instance was this: There happen'd a Tumult at *Nismes*, in which the *Hugonots* had committed some Disorder; who being apprehensive of very severe Proceedings upon it, sent one over with Z <sup>great</sup>

1656. great Expedition to the Lord Protector *Cromwell*, to desire his Interposition and Protection. This Express found so good a Reception the first Hour he came, that his Highness having receiv'd the whole Account, bad him, " Refresh himself after so long a Journey, and he would take such Care of his Business, that by the Time he came to Paris, he should find it dispatch'd." Accordingly, that Night he sent away another Messenger, with a very effectual Letter to his Ambassador *Lockhart*, requiring him either to prevail that the Matter might be pass'd over, or to come away immediately. The Cardinal complain'd of this Way of Proceeding; but the Necessity of their Affairs made him comply. These Things rais'd the Protector's Character abroad, and caus'd him to be much depended on.

THE Protector having concluded the Treaty with France, resolv'd now on a vigorous Prosecution of the War with Spain. For this Purpose, Admiral *Blake*, and *Montague*, afterwards Earl of *Sandwich*, were order'd with a strong Navy to block up the Port of *Cadiz*. Here they lay several Weeks, but could not provoke the Enemy to come out and fight, 'till Want of Water and other Necessaries oblig'd them to sail to *Wyers-Bay* in *Portugal* for fresh Supplies; Captain *Stay-*

*The Spanier*, in the mean time, being left behind with seven *Plate-Ships*; who, whilst the Commanders were gone to the foremention'd Place, espy'd the *Spaniard* destroy'd by *Plate-Fleet* making directly for *Cadiz*, and resolv'd to fall upon it; which, with the *Speaker*, *Bridge-water*, and *Plymouth Frigats*, whilst the rest were behind, he so bravely perform'd, that in a few Hours the whole Fleet was quite spoil'd. One Ship was sunk, another burnt, in which the Marquis of *Bajadox*, Vice-Roy of *Mexico*, with his Lady and eldest Daughter, perish'd in the Flames; two were forc'd on Ground, one run away, and

two remain'd in the Conqueror's Hands; which being brought to *Portsmouth*, the Bullion, to the Value of above two Millions, was there landed, and convey'd in Carts to *London*, as a Trophy and Triumph of War.

THE Protector being now in the Height of his Glory, resolv'd to call a Parliament; to which it is thought he could have no other Motive or Inducement, than to make a Party for a Crown, and get the Title of KING conferr'd on him, which was the only Thing he wanted; for as to the Power of a King, he was really more formidable than any of the English Monarchs ever were. Whatever his Design was, a Parliament was to be summon'd, and Writs were issued throughout the three Nations for Election of Members for that Purpose; in which all Endeavours were us'd to hinder those from being chosen, who were most likely to obstruct the Protector's Designs: For this Reason the President *Bradshaw*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Lieutenant-General *Ludlow* and others were summon'd before the Council; and after Consultation, Sir *Henry Vane* was sent Prisoner to *Carisbrook Castle*, *Ludlow* was order'd to be taken into Custody; and *Bradshaw*, tho' permitted to go his Circuit, as *Chief-Justice of Chester*, had Letters sent after him to deter Persons from giving their Votes for him.

HAVING mention'd Lieutenant General *Ludlow*'s being taken into Custody, I shall conclude this Chapter with an Account of what pass'd between him and the Protector at the Council-Table, as previous thereunto. When he appear'd before the Council according to Summons, his Highness charg'd him with dispersing treasonable Books in *Ireland*, and with endeavouring to render the Officers of the Army disaffected, by discouraging to them about new Models of Government. *Ludlow* confess'd, he had caus'd some Papers to be

1656. be dispers'd in *Ireland*, but said they could not justly be call'd Treasonable; and that tho' he knew not it was a Crime to debate concerning Forms of Government, yet, to the best of his remembrance, he had not lately done any such thing. The Protector then told him, he was not ignorant of the many Plots that were carrying on to disturb the present Power; and he thought it his Duty to secure such as he suspected. To which *Ludlow* reply'd, That there were two Duties requir'd by God of the Magistrate, viz. To be a Terror to Evil-doers, and a Praise to them that do well; and whether his Actions were good or bad, he was ready to submit to a legal Tryal: That he knew no other way to secure the Magistrate from being afraid of the People, or the People from the Dread of the Magistrate, but by both doing what is just and good. *You do well*, said the Protector, *to reflect on our Fears*; yet I would have you know, that what I do, proceeds not from any Motive of Fear, but from a timely Prudence to foresee and prevent Danger; and had I done as I shoudl, I had secured you immediately upon your coming into England, or at least when you desir'd to be freed from the Engagement you had given after your Arrival: And therefore I now require you to give Assurance not to det against the Government. The Lieutenant-General desir'd to be excus'd as to that, remembiring him of the Reasons he had formerly given for his Refusal; and added, That he was in his Power, and he might use him as he thought fit. *Pray then*, said *Cromwell*, *what is it that you would have?* May not every Man be as good as he will? what can you desire more than you have? It were easÿ, answer'd *Ludlow*, to tell what we would have. *What is that, I pray?* reply'd the Protector. *That which we fought for*, said *Ludlow*, *That the Nation might be governed by its own Consent.* I am, said the other, as much for

for a Government by Consent as any Man; but where shall we find that Consent? amongst the Pre-latical, Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptist, or Levelling Parties? To which Ludlow answer'd, Amongst those of all sorts who have acted with fidelity and affection to the Publick. The Protector then fell to commanding the present Government, extolling the Protection and Quiet which the People enjoy'd under it; and said, he was resolved to keep the Nation from being imbru'd in Blood. Ludlow said, He thought too much Blood had been already shed, unless there were a better account of it. You do well, reply'd the Protector, to charge us with the Guilt of Blood; but we think there is a good Return for what hath been shed; and we understand what clandestine Correspondences are carrying on at this time between the Spaniards and those of your Party, who make use of your Name, and affirm that you will own them and assist them. Ludlow told him, He knew not what he meant by his Party, and he could truly say, that if any had enter'd into an Engagement with Spain, they had had no advice from him so to do; and if they would use his Name, he could not help it. His Highness then in a softer way, told him, That he desir'd not to put any more Hardships on him than on himself, that he had been always ready to do him all the good Offices that lay in his Power, and that he aim'd at nothing by this Proceeding but the Publick Quiet and Security. Truly Sir, said the other, I know not why you should be an Enemy to me, who have been faithful to you in all your Difficulties. Upon which the Protector said, I understand not what you mean by my Difficulties: I am sure they were not so properly mine as those of the Publick; for in respect to my outward Condition, I have not much improved it, as these Gentlemen (pointing to his Council) well know. To this they appear'd to assent.

1656, sent, by rising from their Seats ; and therefore Ludlow (as he tells us) thought fit not to insist farther on that Point ; but contented himself to say, That it was from that Duty which he owed to the Publick, whereof the Protector express'd so great a Regard, that he durst not give the Security he desir'd ; apprehending it to be against the Liberty of the People, and contrary to Law : For proof of which he produc'd an Act of Parliament, " for restraining the Council from imprisoning any " of the freeborn People of England ; and if they " should do so, requiring the Justices of the Upper " Bench, upon the Application of the aggrieved Par- " ty, to grant his *Habeas-Corpus*, and give him con- " siderable Damages." But, said the Protector, did not the Army and Council of State commit Persons to Prison ? To this Ludlow answer'd, That the Council of State did so, but it was by Virtue of an Authority granted to them by the Parliament ; and if the Army had sometimes acted in that manner, it had been in time of War, and then only in order to bring the Persons secured to a legal Trial. A Justice of Peace, said Cromwell, may commit, and shall not I ? Ludlow told him, a Justice of Peace was a legal Officer, and authoriz'd by the Law to do so ; which He could not be tho' he were King, because if He did wrong therein, no Remedy could be had against Him. Therefore, said he, if I have offended against the Law, I desire to be referred to a Justice of the Peace, that I may be proceeded with according to Law ; but if I have done nothing to deserve a Restraint, that then I may have my Liberty. Upon this, he was order'd to withdraw ; and Major-General Lambert advis'd, that he might be peremptorily require'd to give the Security demanded : But the Protector said, That the Air of Ireland was good, that he had a House there, and therefore he thought it best to send him thither. In the end the

Lieutenant-

Lieutenant-General resolutely refusing to give <sup>1656,</sup>  
the said Security, was order'd to be taken in  
to Custody, as before related.



## C H A P. VI.

*From the Meeting of his Third PARLIAMENT, to his being confirm'd PROTECTOR, by the humble Petition and Advice.*

**O**N the 17<sup>th</sup> Day of September, the new Parliament met his Highness the Lord Protector in Westminster-Abby; where Dr. John Owen, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, preach'd a Sermon on these Words in *Isaiah*, *What shall one then answer the Messengers of the Nation? That the Lord hath founded Zion, and the Poor of his People shall trust in it.* This being over, the Protector with the Members went to the Painted-Chamber, where he made a dark Speech to them, and then dismiss'd them to their House: But here they found a Guard plac'd, and none were suffer'd to enter but such as had Certificates given them, in this Form, *These are to certify, that A. B. is return'd by Indenture one of the Members to serve in this present Parliament, for — and approv'd by his Highness's Council.* By this means near a hundred Members were excluded, who thereupon presented a Petition to the sitting Members, declaring, "That being chosen by the Country to serve with them, they were ready to discharge their Duty; but were prevented from doing so by the Power of the Sword, and refus'd Admittance into the House by a Guard of Soldiers." Upon this, a Committee being sent to the Protector and his Council, return'd with this Answer, "That if the Persons complaining would apply

The Q-  
pening of  
Cromwell's  
third Par-  
liament.

Petition  
and Re-  
monstrance of  
the ex-  
cluded  
Members

1656. "themselves to them, they should be reliev'd  
 if there was Cause." The excluded Members therefore seeing no Redreis, appeal'd to the People in a severe Remonstrance, or Protestation, complaining, "That the Lord Protector had by force of Arms invaded their fundamental Right and Liberty, and violently prevented the Meeting of the Peoples chosen Deputies in Parliament; and concluding with an Appeal to God and all the good People of England for Assistance and Protection in their Service, &c."

The Parliament's Proceedings and Acts.

THE sitting Members made choice of Sir Thomas Widdrington for their Speaker; and 'twas soon perceiv'd that they were dispos'd to act according to the Protector's Mind. On the first of October they resolv'd, "That the War against the Spaniards was undertaken upon just and necessary Grounds, and for the good of the People of the Commonwealth; and that the Parliament doth approve thereof, and will by God's Blessing assist his Highness therein." They then proceeded to pass several Acts; as 1. An Act that passing of Bills should not determine this present Session of Parliament. 2. An Act for renouncing and disannulling the pretended Title of *Charles Stuart*. 3. An Act for Security of his Highness the Lord Protector his Person, and continuance of the Nation in Peace and Safety; whereby 'twas made High-Treason to attempt, compass, or imagine the Death of the Protector. 4. An Act for taking away the Court of *Wards* and *Liveries*. 5. An Act for the Exportation of several Commodities of the Breed, Growth and Manufacture of this Commonwealth." And farther, to make good what they had resolv'd, great Sums of Money were granted to carry on the Spanish War. For this Purpose, an Act was pass'd "For an Assessment of 60000l. a Month; for three

“ three Months upon *England*; another for  
 “ 5000*l.* a Month for the same Time, on *Scot-*  
 “ *land*; and the same on *Ireland*.” There was  
 also another Act pass'd, “ For 3000*l.* a Month  
 “ for *England*, 6000*l.* a Month for *Scotland*, and  
 “ 9000*l.* a Month for *Ireland*, to be paid for  
 “ three whole Years next ensuing.” Another,  
 “ For continuing of Tonnage and Poundage.”  
 And another (which was the Revival of an old  
 Act) “ For preventing the Multiplicity of Build-  
 “ ings in and about the *Suburbs of London*, and  
 “ within ten Miles thereof; a whole Year's Re-  
 “ venue to be presently paid for all Houses which  
 “ had been built upon new Foundations since  
 “ the Year 1620.”

THESE Bills, with several others, were at several Times pass'd by the Protector, coming in State as a Sovereign to the *Painted-Chamber*. And when the Money Bills with some others were pass'd, he made this short Speech to the Speaker: The Pro-  
 “ I perceive, that among these many Acts of teector's  
 “ Parliament, there hath been a very great Care them at  
 “ had by the Parliament, to provide for the just hispassing  
 “ and necessary Support of the Commonwealth, of Bills.  
 “ by these Bills for levying of Money now  
 “ brought to me, which I have given my Con-  
 “ sent unto: And understanding it hath been the  
 “ Practice of those who have been chief Governours,  
 “ to acknowledge with Thanks to the Commons,  
 “ their Care and Regard of the Publick, I do  
 “ very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their  
 “ Kindness herein.”

THE Parliament had not sat two Months when The Ma-  
 the exorbitant Power of the Major-Generals came for- Gene-  
 under Consideration. The Protector had hitherto rals put  
 given them good Words; but fearing they might down.  
 in Time eclipse his own Greatness, he was now  
 for suppressing their Authority. And so Mr.

Gley-

1656. Cleypole his Son-in-law stood up, (which was an unusual Thing with him) and told the House,

“ That he could but start the Game, and must leave those who had more Experience, to follow the Chace; and therefore should only say, that he had formerly thought it necessary, in respect to the Condition in which the Nation had been, that the Major-Generals should be entrusted with the Authority they had exercis'd; but in the present State of Affairs, he conceiv'd it inconsistent with the Laws of England and Liberties of the People, to continue their Power any longer.” This Motion was a clear Direction to the Court Party in the House; who being well assur'd, that Cleypole had deliver'd the Senate, if not the very Words of the Protector therein, join'd as one Man in opposing and abolishing the Power of these Major-Generals.

**Account of James Naylor.** ABOUT this Time, one James Naylor, a late Soldier under General Lambert, took upon him to personate our Saviour, resembling his Picture in his Garb, Hair, and Looks. He went about with Disciples, and Women ministering unto him, and enter'd the City of Bristol riding upon an Ass, his Followers strewing his Way with Leaves and Boughs of Trees, and crying, *Hosanna, Blessed is he who cometh in the Name of the Lord.* He also pretended he could heal the Sick, raise the Dead, and fast forty Days, and gave no other Answer to any Question, but, *Thou hast said it.* The Magistrates of Bristol sent him up to the Parliament, who resolv'd, “ That James Naylor was guilty of horrid Blasphemy, and a great Seducer of the People;” and instead of sending him to *Bedlam*, which would have been the properest Place for him, they order'd the Speaker to pronounce this severe Sentence against him, viz. “ To stand in the Pillory for two Hours at West-

minster;

" minster; to be whipp'd by the Hangman from 1656.  
 " Westminster to the Old Exchange, and there  
 " to stand in the Pillory two Hours more; his  
 " Tongue to be bored thro' with a hot Iron,  
 " and his Forehead stigmatiz'd with the Letter  
 " B; to be afterwards sent to Bristol, and con-  
 " vey'd thro' the City on a Horse bare back'd,  
 " and his Face backward, and his Body whipp'd  
 " in the Market-Place: To be brought back to  
 " London, and committed to Prison in Bridewell,  
 " and there to be kept from all Company, and to  
 " have no Relief, but what he shou'd earn from  
 " hard Labour; and being debarr'd the Use of  
 " Pen, Ink, and Paper, to be kept to continual  
 " Work, till he shou'd be discharg'd by the Par-  
 " liament." Whitelock says, many thought he was  
 too furiously prosecuted by some rigid Men.

ABOUT this Time, there was a new Discove-<sup>Synder-</sup>  
 ry made of a desperate Plot against the Protector's <sup>comb's</sup> Person; which made the A&ts pass'd for his Security be judg'd highly seasonable. Miles Syndercomb, a Leveller, having been cashier'd in Scotland, combin'd with one Cecil and one Troop, of his Highness's Life-Guard, to assassinate the Protector near Brentford, as he was going to Hampton-Court. Syndercomb being betray'd by the other Conspirators, stoutly deny'd the Plot, but was condemn'd upon the Statute of 25 Edw. III. the Chief Justice Glynn declaring it Treason in Case of a Protector, as well as a King, *since by the Word King any chief Magistrate was understood.* The Prisoner was found dead, when the Time appoint-ed for his Execution came; whereupon his Body was dragg'd naked by a Horse's Tail to the Scaf-fold on Tower-Hill, and there bury'd, with a Stake driven thro' it. The Protector was very much disturb'd at this Accident; for instead of bringing this Man to make some useful discovery to him, which he expected, he found himself under the

1656. Reproach of causing him to be poison'd, as being  
 afraid to bring him to publick Justice. However,  
 a Day of publick Thanksgiving was appointed for  
 the Protector's Deliverance ; when after a Sermon  
 at St. Margaret's Westminster, his Highness treat-  
 ed the Speaker and Members in the Banquet-  
 ting-House at White-hall, with more than ordinary  
 Marks of Endearment.

1657. Design of THE Parliament had sat about six Months,  
 making to when the Debate came on in the House about  
 Cromwell changing Cromwell's Title of Protector into that  
 of King. A new Instrument was drawn up, and  
 read in the House, having a Blank left for the  
 Title of the single Person, and two other Blanks  
 for two Houses of Parliament. This was brought  
 in by Mr. Pack, a rich Alderman of London, who  
 was suppos'd to be very much in the Court In-  
 terest ; and when it came to be debated, 'twas sharp-  
 ly oppos'd by the Soldiers Party in the House ;  
 who joining with the Republicans, fell so furiously  
 upon Pack for his Presumption and unparliamen-  
 tary Proceeding, that they bore him down from  
 the Speaker's Chair to the Bar of the House.  
 But this Heat lasted not long ; for the Lord Brog-  
 hill, Chief Justice Glynn, and others who were  
 privy to the main Design, alledging, " That be-  
 ing Masters of their own Resolutions, they  
 might retain as much of this new Form as was  
 good, and reject what was otherwise ; " they by  
 this means brought it to be debated : And tho'  
 they met with some Opposition therein, yet when  
 it came to be put to the Question, they carry'd  
 all before them, and grew so bold as to move,  
 " That the Blank left for the Insertion of the  
 vote him the Title of the chief Magistrate, might be fill'd  
 up with the Name of King : " Which Motion,  
 tho' very much oppos'd by Lieutenant-General  
 Fleetwood, was likewise carry'd, and the Name vo-  
 ted, together with the filling up the two Blanks  
 left

Left for the two Houses, with the Words, *House of Commons*, and, *other House*. 1657.

THIS done, on the 4th of April, they present-  
ed this Writing to the Lord Protector, which  
was stil'd, *The humble Petition and Advice of the  
Parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland to  
his Highness*; at which Time, the Speaker Sir  
Thomas Widdrington, made a Speech to him, re-  
commending the Title and Office of a King, as  
settled here with Christianity it self, approv'd and  
retain'd by our Ancestors, and every Way fitted to  
the Laws and Temper of the People of England:  
The Protector, however inclinable he was to ac-  
cept of this Offer, yet finding it to be against <sup>He de-</sup>  
murs up  
the Humour and Bent of the Army, and the on it.  
chief Officers of it, and that his Son-in-law Fleet-  
wood, and his Brother-in-law Desborough were  
particularly averse to it, instead of a ready Af-  
fent, thought fit to demur upon it; and the bet-  
ter to protract Time, in Hopes of gaining upon  
the Officers, he desir'd "That a Committee might  
be appointed to confer with him, and to offer  
him better Knowledge and Satisfaction in this  
great Cause."

A COMMITTEE was accordingly appointed; A Com-  
mittee ap-  
which on April 11, met him in the Painted-Chamber. Whitelock was Chair-man, and the pointed to  
chief Speakers besides him were, the Lord Brog-  
hill, chief Justice St. John, chief Justice Glynn,  
the Lords Commissioners Fiennes and Lisle, Len-  
thal Master of the Rolls, Sir Charles Wolsey, Sir  
Richard Onslow, and Colonel Jones. These for  
two distinct Days, successively entertain'd the Pro-  
tector with long Speeches, endeavouring to per-  
suade him to accept of the Title of King, which  
the Parliament had offer'd him. Their Ar-  
guments were principally these: "That the  
Name of a Protector, as he held it, was un-  
known to the English Constitution; but  
the

1657. " the Title of KING had the only Foundation in  
" the antient and known Laws of the Nation,  
" was interwoven with our Laws, and suited  
" to the Genius of the People: That it was  
" the Head from whence all the Nerves and Si-  
" news of the Government proceeded; and if a  
" new Head was put on, it was a Question,  
" whether those Nerves and Sinews would grow  
" and receive Nourishment: That for him to take  
" up the Office of King, without the Title, was to  
" take it up with all the Objections of Scandal:  
" That the King, the Laws of the Nation, the  
" Liberties of the People, and also Parliaments  
" themselves, had but one Foundation, and  
" that the End of the late War was not to de-  
" stroy King-ship, as appear'd by six or seven of  
" the Parliament's Declarations, one of which  
" was order'd to be read in all Churches." His  
Highness answer'd, " That these Arguments  
" were cogent, but not satisfactory; that the  
" Title of Protector might be adapted to the  
" Laws; that Providence was against them, that  
" had already alter'd the Name; and that he  
" were much to be blamed, if he should dis-  
" please so many pious and religious Men, who  
" would take Offence at such a Proceeding."  
The Committee reply'd, " That the Title  
" ought to be accommodated to the Laws, and  
" not the Laws to the Title: That the Inno-  
" vation of Title was suspected, as being the  
" Cover of hidden Tyranny; and that the In-  
" conveniences of such Change were not present-  
" ly felt; for which very Reason, it was by  
" the Parliament deny'd to King James, when  
" he came first to this Kingdom, to change the  
" Title of King of England and Scotland, into  
" that of Great-Britain: That by refusing the  
" Title of King, he would not so much dero-  
" gate from his own Honour, as from the  
" Nation's

“ Nation’s, for whose Honour it was to have a 1657.  
“ King for the supreme Governour: That un-  
“ der the Name of *Protector* was never design’d  
“ the supreme Moderator, but a temporary Offi-  
“ cer for guarding the King in his Minority,  
“ and administring of the Kingdom; and that  
“ generally such had been unfortunate: That  
“ that Appellation having at this Time sprung  
“ from the Soldiers, favour’d of Conquest, and  
“ might with very good Reason be rescinded  
“ by the Parliament. That without the Title  
“ of King, the Government would be unstable and  
“ flitting, and would not long stand, being on a  
“ tottering Foundation; as it had been chang’d  
“ three or four Times in these five Years, and  
“ did still fluctuate: That this had been the great  
“ Encouragement of those Attempts against his  
“ Person, that the Law did not take Notice of  
“ him as chief Magistrate; and that Juries were  
“ generally backward in finding any guilty of  
“ Treason upon that Account: But by the Laws  
“ made in *Edward IV.* and *Henry VII*th’s Time,  
“ whatever was done by a *King in Possession*, was  
“ good and valid, and all that serv’d under him  
“ were safe and exempt from Punishment. By  
“ those Laws his Enemies had hitherto pleaded  
“ Indemnity, but by his assuming what was de-  
“ sir’d, those Laws they pretended for their  
“ Disobedience, would tie them, even by their  
“ own Principles, to Obedience. That tho’ Part  
“ of the long Parliament had taken away *King-  
“ ship*, yet now it was set up again by a fuller  
“ Representative of three Nations; and since the  
“ Parliament of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*,  
“ had advis’d and desir’d him to take upon him  
“ the Title of *King*, he ought not in Reason and  
“ Equity to refuse it. That Providence was no less  
“ conspicuous in turning the Government again  
“ into Monarchy, for avoiding Confusion, and  
“ bridling

1657. " bridling the Tumults of the People, than in  
 changing the Name of Monarchy into Protector-  
 ship: And that good and pious Men would ac-  
 quiesce in the Decree of the Parliament, altho'  
 perhaps they might seem privately to differ." In the end, his Highness gratefully acknowledg'd the Kindness of the Offer, but would not give a present Answer, acquainting the Committee, " That he would consider of all they had said, and seek to God for Counsel; and then he would send for them, and declare his Resolution."

THE Protector was now under great Difficulties and Distraction of Mind, and many Days pass'd before he could come to a Resolution in this weighty Affair. Whilst this Business was in

A remark. A remarkable Conference between him and the Earl of Orrery. Bishop Burnet informs us, coming one Day to Cromwell, and telling him he had been in the City, the Protector enquir'd of him, *What News he had heard there.* The Lord Orrery told him, *He had heard he was in Treaty with the King, who was to be restor'd, and to marry his Daughter.*

Cromwell shewing no Displeasure at this, the Earl said, *In the State to which Things were reduc'd, he could see no better Expedient: They might bring him in on what Terms they pleas'd; and his Highness might retain the same Authority he then had, with less Trouble.* To this Cromwell answer'd, *The King can never forgive his Father's Blood.* The Earl reply'd, *He was one of many that were concern'd in that, but he would be alone in the Merit of restoring him:* Upon which the Protector said, *He is so damnably debauch'd, he would undo us all;* and so went off to other Discourse without any Emotion; which made his Lordship conclude he had often thought of that Expedient.

THE Protector in the mean Time kept himself on such a Reserve, that no Man knew what Answer he would give to the Parliament's Offer, tho' 'twas thought most likely that he would

*He still demurs.*

would accept of it. He, as *Ludlow* informs us, 1657. endeavour'd by all possible Means to persuade the Officers of the Army to approve the Design; <sup>He endea-</sup> for which Purpose he one Time invited himself <sup>vours to gain the</sup> to dine with Colonel *Desborough*, and carry'd Army. Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood* with him. He began to droll with them about *Monarchy*, and speaking slightly of it, said, *It was but a Feather in a Man's Cap, and therefore he wonder'd that Men would not please the Children, and let them enjoy the Rattle.* But they being very serious upon the Matter, assur'd him, *That there was more in it than he perceiv'd: That those who put him upon it were no Enemies to Charles Stuart; and if he accepted of it, he would draw inevitable Ruin on himself and Friends.* Having thus sounded them, that he might conclude as he begun, he told them, *They were a couple of scrupulous Fellows, and so went away.* At another Time entering more seriously into Debate with these two, he said, *It was a Tempting of God to expose so many worthy Men to Death and Poverty, when there was a certain Way to secure them.* But they insisting upon the Oaths they had taken, he reply'd, *That these Oaths were against the Power and Tyranny of Kings, but not against the four Letters that made the Word KING.*

THE next Day, his Highness sent a Message to the House, requiring their Attendance to morrow Morning in the Painted-Chamber, intending, as all Men thought, there to declare his Acceptance of the Crown: But in the mean Time meeting with his Brother *Desborough*, as he was walking in the Park, and acquainting him with his Resolution, he receiv'd this Answer from him, *That he then gave the Cause, and his Family also for lost; and tho' he resolv'd never to act against him, yet he would not act for him after that Time.* And so after some farther Discourse, *Desborough*

1657. went home, and there found Colonel *Pride*, whom the Protector had knighted; and imparting to him his Highness's Intention to accept the Title of King, *Pride* immediately answer'd, *He shall not*. *Desborough* ask'd him, *how he would binder it*: Whereupon *Pride* said, *Get me a Petition drawn, and I will prevent it*. And so they both went to Dr. *Owen*, and prevail'd on him to draw a Petition according to their Mind.

THE next Morning, the House being met, some Officers of the Army coming to the Parliament Doors, sent in a Message to Colonel *Desborough*, to let him know that they had a Petition, and desir'd him to present it to the House. But he knowing the Contents of it, and thinking it not proper for him to take publick Notice of it before it was presented, inform'd the House, that certain Officers of the Army had a Petition to present to them; and mov'd that they should be call'd in, and have Leave to present it with their own Hands; which the House generally agreed to, not thinking the Army would oppose their Designs. And so the Petition being deliver'd by Lieutenant-Colonel *Mason*, was read in the House, and was to this Effect;

Their Petition a. " That they had hazarded their Lives against Monarchy, and were still ready so to do, in making him King. " That having observ'd in some Men great Endeavours to bring the Nation again under their old Servitude, by pressing their General to take upon him the Title and Government of King, in order to destroy him, and weaken the Hands of those who were faithful to the Publick; they therefore humbly desir'd that they would discountenance all such Persons and Endeavours, and continue stedfast to the Old Cause, for the Preservation of which they

" they for their Parts were most ready to lay 1657.  
 " down their Lives."

'Tis hard to say whether the Parliament or the Protector was most surpriz'd at this unexpected Address. As soon as his Highness heard of it, he sent for his Son-in-law *Fleetwood*, and told him, *That he wonder'd he would suffer such a Petition to proceed so far, which he might have binder'd, since he knew it to be his Resolution not to accept the Crown without the Consent of the Army; and therefore he desir'd him to hasten to the House, and to put them off from doing any Thing farther therein.* Accordingly the Lieutenant General went immediately thither, and told them, " That the Petition ought not to be debated, much less to be answer'd, at this Time, the Contents of it being to desire them not to prefis his Highnes to be King; whereas the present Busines was to receive his Answer to what had been formerly offer'd to him; and therefore he desir'd, that the Debate of it might be put off, 'till they had receiv'd his Answer." The House having agreed to this, receiv'd a Message from the Protector, That instead of meeting him in the *Painted-Chamber*, where he us'd to speak to them, they would meet him in the *Banqueting House*: Whither being accordingly come, his Highness made a broken kind of Speech to them, as follows:

" MR. Speaker, I came hither to answer that His Speech  
 " that was in your last Paper to your Commit-<sup>to the</sup>  
 " tee you sent to me, which was in Relation to <sup>Parlia-</sup>  
 " the Desires which were offered to me by the <sup>ment.</sup>  
 " House, in that they call'd their Petition. I  
 " confess that Busines hath put the House, the  
 " Parliament, to a great deal of Trouble, and  
 " spent much Time; I am very sorry, that it  
 " hath cost me some and some Thoughts; and  
 " be-  
 A a 2

1657. " because I have been the unhappy Occasion of  
~~~~~ " the Expence of so much Time, I shall spend  
" little of it now. I have, the best I can, re-  
" solv'd the whole Busines in my Thoughts,  
" and I have said so much already in Testimo-  
" ny of the whole, that I think I shall not  
" need to repeat any Thing that I have said.  
" I think it is a Government, that the Aims  
" of it seeks much a settling the Nation on a  
" good Foot in Relation to civil Rights and Li-  
" berties, which are the Rights of the Nati-  
" on ; and I hope I shall never be found to be  
" of them that shall go about to rob the Na-  
" tion of those Rights, but to serve them what  
" I can to the attaining of them. It hath also  
" exceeding well provided for the Safety and  
" Security of honest Men, in that great,  
" natural, and religious Liberty, which is Li-  
" berty of Conscience. These are great Funda-  
" mentals, and I must bear my Testimony to  
" them (as I have and shall do still, so long  
" as God lets me live in this World) that the  
" Intentions of the Things are very honourable  
" and honest, and the Product worthy of a Par-  
" liament: I have only had the Unhappines  
" both in my Conferences with your Commit-  
" tees, and in the best Thoughts I could take  
" to my self, not to be convicted of the Ne-  
" cessity of that Thing, that hath been insisted  
" upon by you, to wit, the Title of King, as  
" in it self so necessary, as it seems to be ap-  
" prehended by your selves; and I do with all  
" Honour and Respect to the Judgment of the  
" Parliament, testify that (*cæteris paribus*) no pri-  
" vate Judgment is to lie in the Balance with  
" the Judgment of a Parliament: But in Things  
" that respect particular Persons, every Man,  
" that is to give an Account to God of his Ac-  
" tions, must in some Measure be able to prove  
" his

“ his own Work, and to have an Approbation 1657.  
“ in his own Conscience of that he is to do,  
“ or forbear; and whilst you are granting o-  
“ thers Liberties, surely you will not deny me  
“ this, it being not only a Liberty, but a Du-  
“ ty (and such a Duty as I cannot without sin-  
“ ing forbear) to examine my own Heart, and  
“ Thoughts, and Judgment, in every Work which  
“ I am to set mine Hand to, or to appear in  
“ or for.

“ I MUST confess, therefore, that though I  
“ do acknowledge all the other, yet I must be  
“ a little confident in this; That what with the  
“ Circumstances that accompany human Actions,  
“ whether they be Circumstances of Time, or  
“ Persons, whether Circumstances that relate to  
“ the Whole, or private or particular Circum-  
“ stances that compass any Person, that is to  
“ render an Account of his own Actions; I have  
“ truly thought, and do still think, that if I  
“ should (at the best) do any Thing on this  
“ Account to answer your Expectation, it would  
“ be at the best doubtingly: And certainly  
“ what is so is not of Faith; *whatsoever is*  
*not of Faith is Sin* to him that doth it, whe-  
“ ther it be with Relation to the Substance of  
“ the Action, about which the Consideration is  
“ conversant, or whether to Circumstances about  
“ it, which make all think indifferent Actions  
“ good or evil to him that doth it. I lying  
“ under this Consideration, think it my Duty,  
“ only I could have wish'd I had done it soon-  
“ er, for the Sake of the House, who have  
“ laid so infinite Obligations on it; I wish I  
“ had done it sooner for your Sake, for saving  
“ Time and Trouble; and indeed for the Com-  
“ mittee's Sake, to whom I must acknowledge  
“ publickly I have been unseasonably trouble-  
“ some; I say, I could have wish'd I had gi-

1657. "ven it sooner; but truly this is my Answer,

" That altho' I think the Government doth  
 " consist of very excellent Parts in all but that  
 " one Thing, the Title; as to me, I should not  
 " be an honest Man, if I should not tell you,  
 Here refuses " that I cannot accept of the Government, nor  
 the Title. " undertake the Trouble and Charge of it,  
 " which I have a little more experimented  
 " than every Man, what Troubles and Diffi-  
 " culties do beset Men under such Trusts and  
 " in such Undertakings; I say, I am persuaded  
 " to return this Answer to you, *That I cannot*  
 " *undertake this Government with the Title of a*  
 " *KING: And that is mine Answer to this great*  
 " *and weighty Busines.*"

A Digres- *THUS Cromwell*, on the 8th of May, refus'd  
 sion, con- the Title of King. And here we must not o-  
 cerning a mit a great Design of his, which he had pur-  
 noble De- sign of his pos'd to begin his Kingship with, in case he had  
 sign of his in Favour assum'd it; as 'twas related to Bishop Burnet by  
 of the Pro- one Stoupe a Grison by Birth, and much trusted  
 testant Re- by Cromwell in Foreign Affairs. The Design  
 ligion.

was, to set up a Council for the Protestant Re-  
 ligion, in Opposition to the Congregation de  
 Propaganda Fide, at Rome. His Highness in-  
 tended it should consist of seven Counsellors,  
 and four Secretaries for different Provinces.  
 The first Province was to be, France, Switzer-  
 land, and the Valleys; the second, the Palatinat<sup>e</sup>  
 and the other Calvinists; the third, Germany,  
 the North, and Turkey; and the fourth, the East  
 and West Indies. The Secretaries were to have  
 each 500*l.* Salary, and to keep a Correspondence  
 every where, to be inform'd of the State of  
 Religion all over the World, that all good  
 Designs by their Means might be promoted.

A Fund of 10000*l. per Ann.* was to be at  
 their Disposal for ordinary Emergencies; but  
 they were farther to be supply'd as there was  
 Oc-

Occasion. *Chester College* was to be fitted up for them, being then an old decay'd Building, which had been at first erected for Writers of Controversy. The Bishop concludes the Account thus: "I thought it was not fit to let such a Project as this be quite lost: It was certainly a Noble one: But how far he would have pursy'd it, must be left to Conjecture."

To return, *Cromwell* having refus'd the Title of King, the Parliament soon Voted, "That he should enjoy the Title and Authority he had already;" which was in many Particulars enlarr'd beyond what it was by the former Instrument, by the new one, call'd *the humble Petition and Advice*. This Instrument consisted

of eighteen Articles; but we can only give the Substance of the chief ones, as follows: "That his Highness under the Title of Lord Protector, would be pleas'd to exercise the Office of Chief Magistrate over England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c. and to govern according to all Things in this *Petition and Advice*: Also, that in his Life time he would appoint the Person that should succeed in the Government after his Death. That he would call Parliaments consisting of *Two Houses*, once in three Years at farthest. That those Persons who were legally chosen by a free Election of the People to serve in Parliament, might not be excluded from doing their Duties, but by Consent of that House whereof they were Members. That none but those under the Qualifications therein mention'd, should be capable to serve as Members in Parliament. That the Power of the other House be limited as therein prescrib'd, That the Laws and Statutes of the Land be obser'd and kept; and no Laws alter'd,

1657. " suspended, abrogated, or repeal'd, or new  
 " Laws made, but by Act of Parliament,  
 " That the yearly Sum of a Million of Pounds  
 " Sterling be for the Maintenance of the Na-  
 " vy and Army; and three hundred thousand  
 " Pounds for the Support of the Government,  
 " besides other temporary Supplies, as the Com-  
 " mons in Parliament should see necessary. That  
 " the Number of the Protector's Council should  
 " not be above one and twenty; whereof the  
 " Quorum to be seven and not under. The  
 " chief Officers of State, as Chancellors, Keep-  
 " ers of the great Seal, &c. to be approv'd  
 " by Parliament. That his Highness would en-  
 " courage a Godly Ministry in these Nations;  
 " and that such as do revile or disturb them in  
 " the Worship of God, may be punish'd accord-  
 " ing to Law; and where the Laws are defec-  
 " tive, new ones to be made in that Behalf.  
 " That the Protestant Christian Religion, as it  
 " is contain'd in the Old and New Testaments  
 " be asserted and held forth for the publick Pro-  
 " fession of these Nations, and no other; and  
 " that a *Confession of Faith* be agreed upon and  
 " recommended to the People of these Nations;  
 " and none be permitted by Words or Writings,  
 " to revile or reproach the said *Confession of*  
 " *Faith*, &c."

The Pre-  
amble  
of it.

THE Preamble to this *Petition* was in these  
 Words: " We the Knights, Citizens, and Bur-  
 " gesses in this present Parliament assembled,  
 " taking into our most serious Consideration the  
 " present State of these three Nations, joined  
 " and united under your Highness's Protection,  
 " cannot but in the first Place with all Thank-  
 " fulnes acknowledge the wonderful Mercy of al-  
 " mighty God, in delivering us from the Ty-  
 " ranny and Bondage, both in our Spiritual and  
 " Civil

1657.

" Civil Concernments, which the late King and  
" his Party design'd to bring us under, and pur-  
" su'd the effecting thereof by a long and bloody  
" War: And also that it hath pleas'd God to  
" preserve *your Person* in many Battles, to make  
" you an Instrument for preserving our Peace,  
" altho' environ'd with Enemies abroad, and  
" fill'd with turbulent, restleſs, and unquiet Spi-  
" rits in our own Bowels; and as in the tread-  
" ing down the common Enemy, and restor-  
" ing us to Peace and Tranquillity, the Lord  
" hath used you so eminently, and the worthy  
" Officers and Soldiers of the Army (whose  
" Faithfulness to the common Cause, we and  
" all good Men shall ever acknowledge, and put  
" a just Value upon;) so also that he will use  
" you and them in the Settlement and securing  
" our *Liberties* as we are Men and Christians,  
" to us and our Posterity after us; which are  
" those great and glorious Ends, which the  
" good People of these Nations have so freely,  
" with the Hazard of their Lives and Estates,  
" so long, and earnestly contended for. We con-  
" sider likewise the continual Danger which your  
" Life is in, from the bloody Practices both of  
" the malignant and discontented Party (one where-  
" of, thro' the Goodness of God, you have  
" been lately deliver'd from) it being a receiv'd  
" Principle amongst them, That no Order being  
" settled in your Life-time for the Succession in  
" the Government, nothing is wanting to bring  
" us into Blood and Confusion, and them to  
" their desir'd Ends, but the Destruction of *your*  
" *Person*: And in case Things should thus re-  
" main at your Death, we are not able to ex-  
" pres what Calamities would in all human  
" Probability ensue thereupon; which we trust  
" *your Highness* (as well as we) do hold your  
" self oblig'd to provide against, and not to  
" leave

1657. " leave a People, whose common Peace and Interest you are entrusted with, in such a Condition as may hazard both, especially in this Conjunction, when there seems to be an Opportunity of coming to a Settlement upon just and legal Foundations: Upon these Considerations, we have judged it a Duty incumbent upon us to present and declare these our most just and necessary Desires to your Highness."

THIS Instrument being digested and agreed upon, the House sent to the Protector for an Audience; which he appointed to be on the 25th of May, in the *Banqueting-House*. The Members waiting upon him accordingly, their Speaker *Widdrington* presented and read the said

*He passes* Instrument to him, and desir'd his Assent; which, it, and after a long Pause, he with all the Gestures of makes a Concern and Perplexity, granted; and then de-Speech to clar'd to them as follows: " That he came thi-

" ther that Day, not as to a Triumph, but with  
 " the most serious Thoughts that ever he had in  
 " all his Life, being to undertake one of the greatest Burdens that ever was laid upon the Back  
 " of any human Creature; so that without the Support of the Almighty, he must sink under the Weight of it, to the Damage and Prejudice of these Nations. This being so, he must ask Help of the Parliament, and of those that fear God, that by their Prayers he might receive Assistance from God: for nothing else could enable him to discharge so great a Duty and Trust. That seeing this was but an Introduction to the carrying on of the Government of these Nations, and there were many Things which could not be supply'd without the Assistance of Parliament, it was his Duty to ask their Help in them: Not that he doubted; for the same Spirit that had led the Parliament to

" this

1657.

“ this, would easily suggest the rest to them. For  
“ his Part, nothing would have induc'd him to  
“ take this unsupportable Burden to Flesh and  
“ Blood, but that he had seen in the Parliament  
“ a great Care in doing those Things which might  
“ really answer the Ends that they had engag'd  
“ for, and make clearly for the Liberty of the  
“ Nation, and for the Interest and Preservation  
“ of all such as fear God under various Forms:  
“ And if these Nations were not thankful to  
“ them for their Care therein, it would fall as a  
“ Sin upon their Heads. That yet there were  
“ some Things wanting that tended to Reforma-  
“ tion, to the discountenancing Vice and the En-  
“ couragement of Virtue: But he spake not this,  
“ as in the least doubting their Progress, but as  
“ one that did heartily desire, to the end that  
“ God might crown their Work, that in their  
“ own Time, and with what Speed they judg'd  
“ fit, those things might be provided for.” The  
Speech being ended, the Members return'd again  
to their House. And thus did his Highness ac-  
complish a chief Part of what he design'd, which  
was to have his Power and Authority confirm'd  
by Parliament.

C H A P.



## C H A P. VII.

*From his being confirm'd Protector by the Parliament's humble Petition and Advice, to his Death. Concluding with some Account of his Character, and his pompous Funeral.*

1657.

His so-  
lemn nau-  
guration.

CROMWELL having thus accepted of the Government from the Hands of the Parliament, 'twas thought fit he should have a solemn *Inauguration*; which was accordingly appointed to be on the 26th of June, and the House ordered the Master of the Ceremonies to give Notice thereof to all foreign Ambassadors and Ministers. *Westminster-hall* was prepar'd for this Solemnity, and adorn'd and beautify'd as sumptuously as it could be for a *Coronation*. At the upper end there was an Ascent raised, where a Chair and Canopy of State were set, and a Table with another Chair for the Speaker; and Seats were likewise built up for the Members of Parliament, the Judges and Officers, and for the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*. All Things being prepar'd, the Lord Protector came out of a Room adjoining to the Lords House (having come thither from *White-hall* by Water) and in this Order proceeded into the Hall. First went his Gentlemen, then a Herald; next the Aldermen, another Herald, and the Attorney-General; then the Judges; then *Norroy King at Arms*, the Lords Commissioners of the Seal, and of the Treasury; then

then Garter King at Arms, and after him the Earl of Warwick carrying the Sword bare-headed before the Protector, and the Lord-Mayor Tichburn carrying the City Sword. His Highness standing up under a Cloth of State, the Speaker of the Parliament made the following Speech to him.

" *MAY it please your Highness,* You are now The Spea-  
 " upon a great Theatre, in a large Choir of ker's  
 " People: You have the Parliament of Eng- Speech to  
 " land, Scotland and Ireland before you: On him.  
 " your Right Hand, my Lords the Judges;  
 " and on your Left Hand, the Lord-Mayor,  
 " Aldermen and Sheriffs of London, the most  
 " noble and populous City of England. The  
 " Parliament with the Interposition of your  
 " Suffrage makes Laws; and the Judges, and  
 " Governours of London are the great Dispens-  
 " ers of those Laws to the People. The Oc-  
 " casion of this Convention and Intercourse,  
 " is to give an *Investiture* to your Highnes  
 " in that eminent Place of *Lord Protector*; a  
 " Name which you had before, but it is now  
 " settled by the full unanimous Consent of the  
 " People of these three Nations assembled in Par-  
 " liament: You have no new Name, but a new  
 " Date added to the old Name; the sixteenth  
 " of December is now changed to the Twenty  
 " sixth of June"

THEN he said, he was commanded by the Parliament to make Oblation to his Highnes of four Things in order to his Inauguration. At which, being assited by the Earl of Warwick, and White-lock, he vested his Highness with a Robe of Purple-Velvet lin'd with Ermines; telling him, *It was an Emblem of Magistracy, and import'd Righteousness and Justice.* Then he presented him with a Bible, richly gilt and bois'd with Gold, and told him, *It was a Book that contain'd the*

*Holy*

1657. Holy Scriptures, in which he had the Happiness to be well vers'd; it was a Book of Books, and contain'd both Precepts and Examples for good Government. Next he put in his Hand a Scepter of massy Gold, saying, *Here is a Scepter, not unlike a Staff; for you are to be a Staff to the Weak and Poor.* Lastly, he girt him with a very rich Sword, with this Comment, *This is not a Military, but a Civil Sword; it is a Sword rather of Defence than Offence, not only to defend your self, but also your People.* Then his Highness took an Oath, to govern the People of these three Nations according to Law, &c. Which done, Mr. Manton pray'd, recommending his Highness, the Parliament, the Council, the Forces by Land and Sea, and the whole Government and People of the three Nations, to the Blessing and Protection of God. Then the Trumpets sounded, and an Herald proclaim'd his Highness's Title, and all was concluded with the loud Acclamations of the People, *God save the Lord Protector.* The Ceremonies being ended, his Highness with his Train return'd to Whitehall, and the Members to their House, where they adjourn'd their sitting to the 20th of January next.

**Bills** pass'd by the Lord Protector this pass'd by Parliament, besides those already mention'd, were him.

- “ 1. An Act for limiting and setting the Prices for Wines. 2. An Act for the taking away of Purveyance, and Compositions for Purveyance.
- “ 3. An Act against Vagrants, and wandring, idle, dissolute Persons. 4. An Act giving Licence for transporting Fish in foreign Bottoms.
- “ 5. An Act for quiet enjoying of sequestered Parsonages and Vicarages, by the present Incumbents.
- “ 6. An Act for discovering, convicting, and repressing of Popish Recusants. 7. An Act for punishing of such Persons as live at high Rates, and have no visible Estate, Profession, or Calling

“*ling answerable thereunto.* 8. An Act for in- 1657.  
 “*demnifying of such Persons as have acted for the* ~~Service of the Publick.~~  
 “*Service of the Publick.* 9. An Act for the bet-  
 “*ter Observation of the Lord’s-Day.* 10. An  
 “*Act for the better suppreſſing of Theft upon the*  
 “*Borders of England and Scotland, and for Dis-*  
 “*covery of High-way-Men and other Felons.* 11.  
 “*An Act for the Improvement of the Revenue of*  
 “*the Customs and Excise.* 12. An Act for the  
 “*affuring, confirming, and settling of Lands and*  
 “*Estates in Ireland.* 13. An Act for the At-  
 “*tander of the Rebels in Ireland.* 14. An Act  
 “*for the settling of the Postage of England, Scot-*  
 “*land, and Ireland.”*

LUDLOW tells us, that the next Day after the Solemnity of the Inauguration, there was a Feast prepar'd for the Assembly and Officers of the Army; at which 'twas observ'd Major-General *Lambert* was not present; which occasion'd many to suspect he was declining in Favour, for obstructing *Cromwell's* Design of being King: For he says he was credibly inform'd, That when that Business was on Foot, the Major-General took the Liberty to tell *Cromwell*, *That if he accepted the Crown, he could not assure the Army to him.* Some Time after, upon the Major-General's refusing to take the Oath, enjoin'd by the *humble Petition and Advice*, not to do any Thing against the present Government, and to be true and faithful to the Protector, according to the Law of the Land; his Highness sent for him, and told him, *He was well assur'd his Refusal proceeded not on Account of this new Authority; for he might remember, that he himself did at the first press him to accept the Title of King: And therefore, if he was now dissatisfy'd with the present Posture of Affairs, he desir'd him to surrender his Commission.* To this *Lambert* answer'd, *That having no Suspicion that*

*Lambert*  
disgusted  
and re-  
moved.

1657. that it would then be demanded of him, he had not brought it; but if he pleas'd to send for it, he should deliver it: Which two or three Days after was accordingly done. But the Protector not thinking it safe to disgust him entirely, allow'd him a Pension of 2000*l.* a Year, to keep him from any desperate Undertaking.

The remarkable Success of  
Admiral Blake at  
Santa Cruz.

THE Protector now in the height of his Grandeur and Power, met with one very great Misfortune, by the Death of his valiant and victorious Admiral *Blake*, after his having added one very signal Exploit more this Year to his other Glories. Having rode out all the Winter Storms before Cadiz and the Coast of Portugal, he receiv'd certain Intelligence, that another Spanish Plate-Fleet much richer than the former, was coming home; and for fear of the English Fleet had put into the Bay of *Sancta Cruz* in the Island of *Teneriff*, one of the *Canaries*. Upon this *Blake* with his Fleet weigh'd Anchor, April 13. and by the 20th stood off the Offing of the said Bay; where he accordingly found the Galleons arriv'd, to the Number of Sixteen Men of War. The Bay was secur'd by a strong Castle well furnish'd with great Ordnance, besides seven Forts more in several Parts of it, mounted with six, four and three great Guns a-piece, and united together by a Line of Communication from one Fort to another, which was mann'd with Musqueteers. Don *Diego Diagues*, the Spanish Admiral, caus'd all his smaller Ships to moar close to the Shoar, cover'd by the Castles and Forts, and posted the six large Galleons farther off at Anchor, with their formidable Broadsides to the Sea. A Dutch Merchant-Man was at this time in the Bay, the Master whereof perceiving the English were ready to enter, and that a Combat would presently ensue, desir'd Don *Diego's* leave to depart, For, said he,

he, I am very sure, Blake will presently be amongst us ; to which the Don resolutely answer'd, ~~1657.~~ Get you gone, if you will, and let Blake come if he dares.

BLAKE having call'd a Council of War, and finding it impracticable to carry off the Galleons, resolv'd to burn them all : To which end, he first order'd the brave Captain Stayner, in the *Speaker* Frigate, with a Squadron to stand into the very Bay ; who by eight the next Morning fell furiously upon the Spaniards, without the least Regard to their Forts, and fought them almost an Hour. The Admiral seconding him, posted some of the larger Ships to cannonade the Castle and Forts ; which play'd their Parts so well, that the Enemy after some Time was forc'd to leave them. *Blake* for the space of four Hours engaged the Galleons, which made a brave Resistance, but were at last abandon'd by the Enemy ; as were likewise the smaller Vessels which lay under the Forts, which were burnt by *Stayner*, whilst *Blake* did the same by the large Galleons : So that this whole Plate-Fleet, of inestimable Value, was utterly destroy'd ; and, which is very remarkable, as soon as ever the Action was over, the Wind, which before blew strong into the Bay, on a sudden veer'd about, and brought *Blake* with his Fleet out to Sea, without the Loss of one Ship, and with no more than forty eight Men kill'd, and a hundred and twenty wounded. The News of this brave and unparallel'd Action being brought to *England* before the End of the Session, the Parliament order'd a Day of Thanksgiving for this great Success ; and the Lord Protector, at their Desire, sent the Admiral a Diamond Ring of 500*l.* value, and knighted *Stayner* at his return to *England*.

1657. *BLAKE*, after this noble Exploit, sail'd back to *Spain*, where after having kept all their Ships and Ports in awe, he return'd for *England*.  
His Death and Cha-recter. But falling sick of a Fever, he died just as the Fleet was entring into *Plymouth Sound*; where he passionately enquir'd for the Land, but found his own Element the more proper Bed of Honour. He had a publick Funeral solemnly and justly bestow'd upon him, and the Honour of being interr'd in *Henry VIIith's Chapel*. The Lord *Clarendon* says, "He was the first Man that declin'd the old Track, and made it manifest, that the (Naval) Science might be attain'd in less Time than was imagin'd; and despis'd those Rules which had been long in Practice, to keep his Ships and his Men out of Danger, which had been held in former Times a Point of great Ability and Circumspection; as if the principal Art requisite in the Captain of a Ship had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first Man who brought Ships to contemn Castles on Shoar, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discover'd by him to make a Noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first that infus'd that Proportion of Courage into the Seamen, by making them see by Experience, what mighty Things they could do, if they were resolv'd; and taught them to fight in Fire as well as upon Water: And tho' he hath been very well imitated and follow'd, he was the first that gave the Example of that kind of naval Courage, and bold and resolute Atchievements."

HE had a very great Regard to the Honour of his Country, and the *English* Dominion of the Seas. He endeavour'd to preserve Peace and Unity

Unity among his Seamen, by telling them, " That 1657.  
" they should not listen to any News from Land, ~~~~~  
" nor mind the Changes in the Government,  
" but remember that the Fleet was *English*, and  
" that their Enemies were Foreigners ; and  
" therefore they must fight for the Honour of  
" the *English* Nation." One Instance of his An In-  
Care to preserve the Honour of his Country, <sup>stance of</sup> his Regard  
mention'd by Bishop Burnet, I cannot omit. <sup>to the</sup> Honour of  
He says, that *Blake* happening to be at *Malaga* with the Fleet, before *Cromwell* made War up- his Coun-  
on Spain, some of his Seamen going ashore, <sup>try.</sup>  
met the *Hoff*, as it was carrying about, and  
not only refus'd to pay any Honour to it, but  
laugh'd at those who did. Whereupon one of  
the Priests stirr'd up the People to resent this  
Affront; and so they fell upon them and beat  
them severely. The Seamen returning to their  
Ship, and complaining of the Usage they had  
met with, *Blake* immediately dispatch'd a Trum-  
peter to the *Vice-Roy*, to demand the Priest who  
had been the chief Occasion of it: To which  
the *Vice-Roy* return'd this Answer, *That he  
had no Authority over the Priests, and so could  
not dispose of him.* But *Blake* sent him Word  
again, *That he would not enquire who had Pow-  
er to send the Priest to him, but if he were not  
sent within three Hours, he would burn their  
Town.* And so being unable to resist him, they  
sent the Priest to him; who justifying himself up-  
on the rude Behaviour of the Seamen, *Blake*  
answer'd, *That if he had sent a Complaint to him  
of it he would have punish'd them severely, since  
he would not suffer his Men to affront the estab-  
lish'd Religion of any Place at which he touch'd ;  
but he took it ill, that he set on the Spaniards to  
do it ; for he would have all the World to know,  
that an Englishman was only to be punish'd by an  
Englishman.* And so he civilly treated the Priest,

1657. and dismiss'd him, being satisfied that he had him at his Mercy. The Bishop says, *Cromwell* was exceedingly pleas'd with this, and read the Letters in Council with great Satisfaction, telling them, *He hop'd he should make the Name of an Englishman as great as ever that of a Roman had been.*

The Success of the Protector's Arms by Sea this Year, so his Forces by Land were not unsuccessful. The 6000 Men which his Highness was oblig'd by his Treaty with France to

provide, for acting jointly with the French against the Spaniards, being transported under the Command of Sir John Reynolds and Major-General Morgan, the French had no Inclination to begin upon Dunkirk, which when taken was to be put into *Cromwell's* Hands, but march'd to other Places which they were to conquer for their own Use. But his Highness's Ambassador Lockhart made such repeated Representations to the Cardinal, complaining of their Breach of Faith, not without some Menaces, *That his Master knew where to find a more punctual Friend*, that as soon as they had taken Montmedy and St. Venant, the Army march'd into Flanders and invested Mardike, which being taken would much facilitate the Design upon Dunkirk. The French and English had not lain before this strong Place above four Days, when it was reduc'd to a Surrender upon Composition, and deliver'd up wholly into the Possession of the English. But presently after, the French being withdrawn into Winter Quarters, the Spaniards, who were sensible of what great Importance this Place was to the preserving of Dunkirk, detach'd a Body of Horse and Foot to retake it. Among these were 2000 English Reformadoes, commanded by the Duke of York; and they made two very furious Storms upon the Fort,

but

but were stoutly repuls'd, and forc'd to fly, 1657.  
with the Loss of several brave Commanders.

UPON the French King's entering into an Agreement with the Lord Protector of England, King Charles with his Family was oblig'd to leave France and retire to Cologne; where having resided about two Years and a half, he this Year, upon concluding a Treaty with the Catholick King, repair'd to the City of Bruges in Flanders, where he found a handsome Accommodation for himself and his small Court. About this Time, among other Methods he us'd in order to his Restoration, Mr. Echard tells us of a private Application he made to Cromwell, which he says came from the Mouth of the Dutchess of Lauderdale, who told the same to a Person, of whose Credit he could make no Question. The Story is this: That this Lady, afterwards Dutchesse of Lauderdale, being a particular Friend and Acquaintance of Cromwell's, was employ'd to make a private Offer and Proposal to him, in Substance as follows, "That if he would restore, or permit the King to return to his Throne, he would send him a blank Paper, for him to write his own Terms and Limitations, and settle what Power and Riches he pleas'd upon himself, Family, and Friends." This Proposal was first communicated to the Protector's Lady, who lik'd it very well, believing that besides other Advantages, it would bring absolute Indemnity and Security to her Husband, and the whole Family. She therefore took an Opportunity, when she was in Bed with him, to mention the Offer to him, and endeavour'd to persuade him to accept of it, as being of the highest Moment to the Happiness of himself and Relations. But he, without minding her Arguments and Persuasions, presently told her,

1657. She was a Fool; adding this shrewd Sentence,  
 If Charles Stuart can forgive me all that I have  
 done against him and his Family, he does not de-  
 serve to wear the Crown of England.

THE King keeping his Court at Bruges in Flanders, had many Consultations with the Governor *Don John*, and was in great Hopes that the Distractions in England might at length turn to his own Advantage; which encourag'd the Spaniards to protect his Person, and accept his Arms in Flanders; where the Marquess of Ormond, the Lord Rochester, the Lords Gerard and Wentworth, the Lord Taaf, and General Middleton had their several Regiments quarter'd along the Sea-Coast, under the Command of the Dukes of York and Gloucester; both to assist his Catholick Majesty against his Enemies the French, who were supported by Cromwell, and to be in a readiness to transport themselves into England, if any favourable Opportunity should invite them. And indeed a general Insurrection of the King's Friends was at this Time design'd; to promote which, there was now publish'd, and with great Industry dispers'd, a very bold Paper, entitled, *Killing no Murder*, making it not only lawful but honourable to kill the Protector, as a Tyrant and common Enemy of his Country. This put his Highness into a terrible Fright, and made him very vigilant to apprehend the Author, who was then conceal'd, not only in his Person, but in the very Suspicion of his Name, tho' since generally believ'd to be Colonel Titus, who made a great Figure in some of the Parliaments after the King's Restoration. Some Time after this Alarm, which serv'd more to put the Protector upon his Guard, than to forward the Preparations of the Royalists, the Marquess of Ormond slipt over from Flanders, and lay privately

vately in London, to quicken the Design, intending also to send for his Troops to push on the Execution of it. But the Protector, who was always good at Intelligence, had corrupted Sir Richard Willis, who seem'd to be at the head of the King's Party, and pretended a great deal of Zeal for his Service, to discover all their most secret Contrivances to him ; and by his Intelligence, he set out a Proclamation against the Conspirators before they could get into a Body ; by which means many of them were apprehended, the Marques of Ormond himself very narrowly escaping.

THE Protector now sent his Writs of Summons under the Great Seal to divers Persons to sit as Members in the *Other House*; the Form of which

The *Other House* of Parliament.  
Writs was the same with that which was us'd to summon the Peers in Parliament. The Persons who were to compose the *Other House* were about sixty in number ; among whom were divers Noblemen, Knights, and Gentlemen of antient Families and good Estates, and some Colonels and Officers of the Army. Their Names were as follows : The Lord *Richard Cromwell*, the Protector's eldest Son ; the Lord *Henry Cromwell*, his other Son, Lord Deputy of Ireland ; *Nathaniel Fiennes*, and *John Lisle*, Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal ; *Henry Lawrence*, Lord President of the Council ; *Charles Fleetwood*, Lieutenant-General of the Army ; *Bulstrode Whitelock*, and *William Sydenham*, Commissioners of the Treasury ; *Robert Earl of Warwick*, *Edmund Earl of Mulgrave*, *Edward Earl of Manchester*, *William Viscount Say and Seal*, *Philip Viscount Lisle*, *Philip Lord Wharton*, *Thomas Lord Fauconberg*, *George Lord Eure*, *John Claypole Esq*; *Charles Howard Esq*; whom the Protector made a Viscount, *John Desborough*, and *Edward Mountague*, Generals at Sea ; *Sir Charles Wolsey*, *Sir Gilbert Pickering*, *Walter Strickland Esq*;

1657. Esq; Major-General Skippon, Colonel Philip Jones,  
 Sir William Strickland, Francis Rouse Esq; John  
 Fiennes Esq; Sir Francis Russel, Sir Thomas Honny-  
 wood, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Sir John Hobart,  
 Sir Richard Onslow, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Sir Wil-  
 liam Roberts, Lord-Chief-Justice Glynn; Lord-  
 Chief-Justice St. John, William Pierpoint Esq;  
 John Crew Esq; Alexander Popham Esq; Sir  
 Christopher Pack, Sir Robert Tichburn, Edward  
 Whalley Esq; Sir John Barkstead, Lieutenant of  
 the Tower; Sir George Fleetwood, Sir Thomas  
 Pride, Sir John Hewson, Richard Ingoldsby Esq;  
 James Berry Esq; William Goffe Esq; Thomas  
 Cooper Esq; Edmund Thomas Esq; George Monk,  
 General in Scotland; David Earl of Cazzils, Sir  
 William Lockhart, Sir Archibald Johnston, Wil-  
 liam Steel, Lord Chancellor of Ireland; Ro-  
 ger Lord Broghil, Sir Matthew Tomlinson, Wil-  
 liam Lenthal and Richard Hambden Esqrs; Some  
 of these were Knights of the Protector's own  
 making.

The two Houses meet, and his Highness makes came to them. THE Parliament thus improv'd by the Addition of another House, met a second time on the 20th Day of January; when the Protector senting for the Speaker and House of Com-  
 mons by the Black-Rod, made a short Speech to them, beginning in the old Stile, *My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons;* and then discoursing some Particulars which he recommended to them, thanking them for their good Correspondence the last Session, and assuring them, if they went on as they had begun, they should be call'd *Blessed of the Lord, and Generations to come should bless them;* he left his Lord-Keeper Fiennes to make a long Speech to them, with all the State of our antient Monarchs.

As

As most of the Nobility who had Writs sent to them, refus'd to sit in the *Other House*, so Sir Arthur Haslerigg, and some few more of the Commons declin'd that Honour, and chose rather to sit in the lower House, for which they had been elected Members by the People. Many others also, who had been excluded by the Protector in the first Session of this Parliament, now ventur'd to take their Seats, upon the 3d Article of the *Petition and Advice*, by which *no Members legally chosen, were to be excluded from the Performance of their Duty, but by Consent of that House whereof they were Members*. By this means, and the Removal of those of the other House, who were for the most part taken out of this, a considerable Alteration was made in this Assembly; so that they soon began to call in Question the Authority and Jurisdiction of the other House, and several of the Members, particularly Sir Arthur Haslerigg, appear'd very forward in fomenting Differences between these two Bodies. Upon this his Highness sent for the Commons to the Banqueting-House, where he exhorted them *to Unity, and to the Observance of their own Rules in the Petition and Advice*. But this having no Effect upon them, they went on in the same Way; many being against the Members of the other House being call'd *Lords*, others entirely against the having such another House, and some speaking reproachfully of it. These Proceedings tended to their own Destruction; for the Protector looking upon himself to be aim'd at by them, and that these Things were only the Testimonies of their Envy towards him and his Government, began to think of putting a stop to all by dissolving the Parliament. Whilst he was revolving thus in his Mind, on the 4th of February, he received fresh Information concerning the Diligence of his Adversaries in all Parts; which

1657. which quicken'd him to that degree, that he would not stay for one of his own Coaches, but taking the first that was at hand, with such Guards as he could presently get together, he hurried to the *other House*: Whither being come, he imparted his Resolution to dissolve the Parliament to Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*; who earnestly endeavouring to dissuade him from it, he clap'd his Hand upon his Breast, and swore, *by the living God he would do it.* Then the Usher of the Black Rod was sent to the Commons to acquaint them, that his Highness was in the Lords House, and there requir'd their Attendance. Hereupon they with the Speaker went up, and his Highness made a Speech to them, declaring several *urgent and weighty Reasons, which made it necessary for him, in order to the publick Peace and Safety, to proceed to an immediate Dissolution of this Parliament; and accordingly he did dissolve them.*

The Protector dissolves them. Plot of His Highness was the more incens'd, because the Fifth-<sup>at this time the Fifth-</sup>Monarchy Men were forming a dangerous Conspiracy to overthrow him and his Government; which he suspected was countenanc'd by many of the Parliament. Major-General *Harrison* was deep in this Plot, which was laid for an Insurrection to dethrone the Protector, and set up *King Jesus*. Their chief Cabal was held in a House near *Shoreditch*, where Secretary *Thurloe*, who spar'd no Pains or Money for his Master's Safety, had a Spy among them, and suffer'd them to go on till the Night before that wherein they had appointed to rendezvous; at which time he sent a Party of Soldiers, who seiz'd the chief of them as they were consulting about the manner of putting their Design in Execution. Their Arms and Ammunition were likewise seiz'd, with a Standard of a *Lion Couchant* as of the Tribe of *Judah*, with this Motto, *Who shall*

*shall rouse him up?* and several Copies of a printed Declaration, with this Title, *The Principle of the Remnant, &c.* The Conspirators apprehended were *Venner, Gray, Gowler, Hopkins, Ashton,* and others, who were carry'd Prisoners to the Gate-House, where they lay long in a miserable Condition, but were spar'd to create Disturbance and their own Destruction at another time, *viz.* soon after the King's Restoration.

SHORTLY after, as *Ludlow* informis us, some Persons who us'd to meet in *Coleman-street*, to deplore the Apostacy of the Times, and particularly that of *Whitehall*, were apprehended by the Lord Mayor's Officers, pursuant to the Protector's Orders, as they were coming out of their Meeting-place. Among these was one *Cornet Day*, who being accus'd of saying, *That the Protector was a Rogue and a Traitor*, confess'd the Story of *Day*. Words; and to justify himself said, that *Cromwell* had affirm'd in the Presence of himself and several other Officers, *That if he did oppress the Conscientious, or betray the Liberties of the People, or not take away Tithes by a certain Time ( now past ) they should then have Liberty to say, he was a Rogue and a Traitor.* He desir'd leave therefore to produce his Witnesses, who were then present, to what he had asserted. But the Busines was so manag'd, that he and some others were fin'd and imprison'd for their Misdemeanours.

AMONG all the Plots and Conspiracies against the Protector at this time, the most formidable was that of the *Cavaliers*. But of this also he had timely Informations given him; upon which he sent for the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of *London*, and acquainted them with it, and desir'd their Care to put the City into a Posture of Defence. They accordingly went back with great Indignation against the *Royalists* and took extraordinary Care of

1657. of their Gates and Guards, and withal drew up  
~~~~~ an humble Address to his Highness, promising

the Faith of the City, and the Purse of it, in  
firmly adhering to him against all his Enemies.  
Addresses also of the same strain were made from  
General Monk's and other Regiments, and from  
the English Forces in Flanders; all which his  
Highness answer'd with Thanks.

1658. He now thought it time to proceed against the Conspirators  
themselves, whom he had safely lodg'd in Prison.

Trial of For this Purpose, a *High Court of Justice* was  
*Dr. Hewet* erected, being founded on a Law made by the  
Sir Henry late Parliament for the Security of his Highness's  
*Slingsby*, Person. *Whitelock* was one of the Commissioners,  
and Mr. *Mordaunt*. but he tells us he never sate with them, *it being*  
*against his Judgment*.

Before this Court were brought Dr. *Hewet*, Sir *Henry Slingsby*, and Mr. *Mordaunt*, with some others of the meaner sort. The general Charge against them was, " For " endeavouring to levy War against the Go- " vernment on the behalf of *Charles Stuart*." The particular Charge against Dr. *Hewet* was, " For " dispersing Commissions from the Son of the " late King, and persuading divers to raise Forces " by virtue of the same." That against Sir *Henry Slingsby* was, " For attempting to debauch some " of the Garrison of *Hull* to the Service of *Charles Stuart*, and delivering a Commission from him " to them." And the Prisoners of less Note were charg'd " With a design of firing the City " in several Parts, at the time appointed for the " Insurrection." Dr. *Hewet* deny'd the Jurisdiction of the Court, and argu'd against the Legality of it; and so for Contempt, after having been three times requir'd to plead, he was adjudg'd guilty of the Charge; and when he afterwards offer'd to plead, he was told it was too late. Sir *Henry Slingsby* pleaded that he was a Prisoner at the

the time when he was charg'd to have practis'd 1658.  
against the Government, and that the Persons whom he was accus'd of attempting to corrupt, had trepann'd him by their Promises to serve the King in delivering *Hull*, if he would give them a Commission to act for him; which Commission was an old one that had lain long by him. But all this availing him nothing, he was, together with Dr. *Hewet*, adjudg'd to die; and accordingly they were both beheaded on *Tower Hill*, notwithstanding all Endeavours that were us'd for procuring their Pardon. Six of the meane-  
r Sort were condemn'd to be hang'd, but only three suffer'd; one in *Tower-street*, another in *Cheapside*, and the third before the *Ex-change*. As for Mr. *Mordaunt*, he pleaded *Not-guilty*, and after a full hearing of the Witnesses on both sides, the Court acquitted him by one Voice.

IN the beginning of this Year, a Party of the Designers  
Garrison of *Ostend*, with the Privity of the Go-<sup>on Ostend.</sup>  
vernour, held Intelligence with Cardinal *Mazarine*, and then with the Protector *Cromwell*, to betray that Town into the Hands of the *French*, wherein the Lord Protector was to have his Share. *Mazarine* was to send a Land-Army under the Command of Marshal *D'Aumont*, and the Protector was to furnish a Fleet for transporting the Men. Articles having been agreed on between the suppos'd Conspirators and the Cardinal, on *May 14th*, the appointed Day, the *English* Fleet appear'd before *Ostend*, and the Garrison permitted the *French* to pass and land, who thought of nothing but an immediate Possession of the Place. But the subtle Governor, having suffer'd the Fleet to come to a proper Distance, on a sudden pull'd down the white Flag, that had invited them in, and set up a blcody Flag: And before the Vessels could

1658. could tack about, or get out of his reach, he  
forely gall'd them by the Cannon from the Forts;  
and the French that landed were all, to the  
Number of 1500, slain or taken Prisoners, a-  
mong which last was the Marshal D'Aumont  
himself.

The Siege PRESENTLY after this great Disappointment,  
and Battle it was resolv'd to attempt the taking of Dunkirk;  
which was accordingly invested by the French, assisted by 6000 valiant English Men  
under the Inspection of Lockhart, the Protec-  
tor's Ambassador, but more immediately under  
the Command of Major-General Morgan. Whilst  
they were carrying on their Approaches towards  
the Town, the French under Marshal Turenne  
on the side of Newport, and Morgan with  
his English and a Brigade of French Horse, on  
that next Mardyke, they had Intelligence brought  
them, that the Spanish General Don John of  
Austria, with the Prince of Conde, the Prince  
de Ligny, and the Dukes of York and Gloucester,  
were advancing with 30000 Men to relieve  
the Place. Hereupon the French King and  
Cardinal were persuaded by Turenne and others  
to withdraw their Persons, and retire to Calais,  
and leave all to be determin'd by a Council  
of War. In the first Council, which was held  
without either Lockhart or Morgan, it was re-  
solv'd to raise the Siege, if the Eneny came  
on. But in the next, when those two were pre-  
sent, Morgan vehemently oppos'd that Resolu-  
tion, alledging, " What a Dishonour it would  
" be to the Crown of France, to have sum-  
" mon'd a Place, and broke Ground before it,  
" and then raise the Siege and run away;" and  
desiring the Council to consider, *That if they*  
*rais'd the Siege, the Alliance with England would*  
*be broken the same Hour.* Upon which it was  
resolv'd, contrary to their former Intention, to  
give

give Battle to the Enemy, if they came on, 1658.  
 and to maintain the Siege. And the Enemy coming on, a desperate Fight ensu'd, in which the *Spaniards* were in a manner totally routed by the *English*, before the *French* came in. At the end of the Pursuit, Marshal *Turenne*, with above a hundred Officers, came up to the *English*, alighted from their Horses, and embracing the Officers said, "They never saw a more glorious Action in their Lives, and that they were so transported with the Sight of it, that they had not Power to move, or do any thing." The *Spanish* Army being entirely vanquish'd, the Confederates renew'd their Attempts upon the Town of *Dunkirk* with great Vigor and Industry; and the Marques *de Leda* the Governor, being mortally wounded, as he was sallying out upon the Befiegers, the *Spaniards* within desir'd a present Capitulation; which being granted, this important Place was surrender'd upon Articles, on the 25th of June; when it was immediately deliver'd up into the Hands of the *English* by the *French* King and Cardinal in Person, pursuant to the Treaty between them and his Highness the Lord Protector.

AND here we could not omit the following A remarkable Story in relation to this Affair, in which both the Perfidiousness of the *French* Court, and the Policy and Power of the *English* Lord Protector are very remarkably seen. It is thus related by Dr. *Welwood*. "When the *French* Army my being join'd with the *English* Auxiliaries, was on its March to invest the Town, Cromwell sent one Morning for the *French* Ambassador to *White-hall*, and upbraided him publickly for his Master's designed Breach of Promise, in giving secret Orders to the French General to keep Possession of *Dunkirk*, in

1658. " in case it was taken, contrary to the Treaty  
 " between them. The Ambassador protested he  
 " knew nothing of the Matter, as indeed he  
 " did not, and begg'd leave to assure him, that  
 " there was no such Thing thought of. Up-  
 " on which Cromwell pulling a Paper out of his  
 " Pocket, Here (says he) is a Copy of the Car-  
 " dinal's Order: And I desire you to dispatch  
 " immediately an Express, to let him know, that  
 " I am not to be impos'd upon; and that if he  
 " deliver not up the Keys of the Town of Dun-  
 " kirk to Lockhart within an Hour after it  
 " shall be taken, I'll come in Person and demand  
 " them at the Gates of Paris. There were but  
 " four Persons said to be privy to this Order,  
 " the Queen-Mother, the Cardinal, the Mar-  
 " shal de Turenne, and a Secretary. The Car-  
 " dinal for a long time blam'd the Queen, as  
 " if she might possibly have blabb'd it out to  
 " some of her Women: Whereas it was found  
 " after the Secretary's Death, that he had kept  
 " a secret Correspondence with Cromwell for  
 " several Years; and therefore it was not doubt-  
 " ed but he had sent him the Copy of the  
 " Order above-mention'd. The Message had  
 " its Effect; for Dunkirk was put into the Pos-  
 A solemn  
 Embassy  
 to him  
 from the  
 French  
 Court.  
 " fession of the English: And to palliate the Mat-  
 " ter, the Duke and Marshal of Crequy was  
 " dispatch'd into England, Ambassador extra-  
 " ordinary, to compliment Cromwell, attended  
 " with a numerous and splendid Train of Per-  
 " sons of Quality; among whom was a Prince  
 " of the Blood, and Mancini, Mazarine's Ne-  
 " phew, who brought a Letter from his Uncle  
 " to the Protector, full of the highest Ex-  
 " pressions of Respect, and assuring his High-  
 " ness, That being within View of the English  
 " Shore, nothing but the King's Indisposition (who  
 " lay then ill of the Small-Pox at Calais) could  
 " have

" have binder'd him to come over to England, 1658.  
 " that he might enjoy the Honour of waiting upon *one of the greatest Men that ever was, and whom next to his Master, his greatest Ambition was to serve. But being depriv'd of so great a Happiness, he had sent the Person that was nearest to him in Blood, to assure him of the profound Veneration he had for his Person, and how much he was resolv'd, to the utmost of his Power, to cultivate a perpetual Amity and Friendship betwixt his Master and him.'*

BUT as all worldly Glory and Prosperity must have an end, so our Protector's Greatness, which expir'd only with his Life, now drew near to a Period. It has been observ'd by some, that tho' after the Dissolution of the last Parliament, all Things seem'd to succeed, at Home and Abroad, according to his Wish, and his Power and Greatness to be better establish'd than ever, yet he never had that Serenity of Mind, after his Refusal of the Crown, that he before usually enjoy'd: That he was now much more apprehensive of Danger to his Person than he used to be, and the many Plots and Conspiracies against him gave his Mind great Disturbance; insomuch that he grew very suspicious, and more difficult of Access, and was more rarely seen abroad than formerly. Bishop Burnet says, it was generally believ'd that his Life and all his Arts were exhausted at once, and that if he had liv'd much longer, he could not have held Things together. However this be, 'tis certain he was greatly afflicted with the Loss of some of his Family, and Friends, a little before his Death. He seemed to be much troubled for the Death of his Friend, the old Earl of Warwick, with whom he had a fast Friendship, tho' neither their Humours nor their Natures were very much alike: And the Heir of that House, who had married his youngest Daugh-

1658. ter, died about the same Time; so that all his  
 The Death of his Daughter Claypole. Relation to, and Confidence in that Family, was at an end. But that which chiefly disturb'd his Peace, was the Death of his best beloved Daughter, the Lady *Elizabeth Claypole*, who is said to have earnestly interceded for Dr. *Hewet's* Life, and yet in that only Instance had a Denial from her fond Father. She died at *Hampton-Court* on the 6th of *August*; and her Body being carried by Water to *Westminster*, after lying in State in the *Painted-Chamber*, was solemnly interr'd in *Henry the VII's Chappel*.

He falls sick.

ABOUT a Week after her Death, the Protector himself, whose greatest Joy, amidst all his Anxieties and Inquietudes, was in this Daughter, fell sick at *Hampton-Court*, whither he had retired some Time before with his Council. His Disease at first was a kind of a Tertian Ague, which for about a Week continued under several Appearances, with Symptoms so favourable, that every other Day he walked abroad in the Palace Garden: But finding himself to grow worse, he took his Bed, and made a Will relating to his private and domestick Concerns. His Fits still growing stronger, and his Spirits weaker, he was removed from *Hampton-Court* to *White-Hall* (tho' *Whitelock* says he dy'd at *Hampton-Court*.) Here he soon appeared to be delirious, and his Physicians began to think him in real Danger; tho' his Chaplains seem'd still to assure themselves of his Recovery; insomuch that Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, in his Prayer to God for him, is said to have expressed himself thus, *That they ask'd not for his Life; for they were assur'd he had too great Things for this Man to do, to remove him yet; but they pray'd for his speedy Recovery, because his Life and Presence were so necessary to divers Things then of great Moment to be dispatch'd*. His Sickness still increasing, so that he seem'd

seem'd to be drawing near his End, those of 1658. his Council being alarm'd, came to put him in mind to nominate his Successor, according to the humble Petition and Advice. But he being now almost in a Lethargy, and not answering to the points his Purpose, they ask'd him again, Whether 'twas his Will that his eldest Son *Richard* should succeed him in the Protectorship; to which 'twas said he answered, Yes. *Ludlow* fays the Commissioners of the Great Seal attended for signing the Declaration of the Person to be appointed his Successor; but whether he was unwilling to discover his Intentions to leave the Succession to his Son, lest thereby he should, in Case of Recovery, disoblige others whom he had put in Expectation of that Power; or whether he was so discompos'd in Body and Mind, that he could not attend that Matter; or lastly, whether he would have named, or did name any other, is uncertain: But certain it is, that the Commissioners were not admitted till the Friday following, when the Symptoms of Death were apparent upon him. This being his belov- He dies. ed and victorious Third of September, on which he had twice triumph'd for two of his greatest Victories, at *Dunbar* and *Worcester*, on that Day, about three in the Afternoon, he expired; on which Day, or, as some say, the Day before, there happened the most violent Storm of Wind that had ever been known; which we have not so strong a Fancy as to imagine, with a certain Author, was any thing preternatural; any more than we can believe the Prediction of Colonel *Lindsey* as to the Day of the Protector's Death, which is founded upon the Story of his making a League with the Devil; a Story which by the very Silliness of the Relation sufficiently confutes it self.

THUS the renowned *Oliver Cromwell*, after so many great Actions, so many Toils and Troubles,

1658. and so many Plots and Conspiracies against his Life, at last dy'd quietly in his Bed. He ex-  
 pir'd in the sixtieth Year of his Age, five Years  
 four Months and fourteen Days after the Dis-  
 solution of the Long Parliament, four Years eight  
 Months and eighteen Days after he had been  
 declar'd Protector by the *Instrument of Govern-  
 ment*, and but one Year three Months and nine  
 Days, after his being confirm'd in that Office by  
 the *Humble Petition and Advice.*

Some Ac-  
 count of  
 his Cha-  
 racter.

THUS having given a faithful Account of the Actions of this great Man, we might leave every one to judge of his Character from thence: How-  
 ever, it may not be amiss to take a short View of it. As to his Person, he had a manly stern Look, and was of an active healthful Constitution, able to endure the greatest Toil and Fatigue. When he appear'd first in the Parliament, he made no great Figure, there seem'd to be nothing extraordinary in him, he discovered none of those Talents which use to gain Applause, and work upon the Affections of the Hearers and Standers-by; yet as he grew into Place and Authority, his Parts seem'd to be rais'd, as if he had Faculties that lay conceal'd till he had Occasion to use them; and when he was to act the Part of a great Man, he did it without any Indecency, notwithstanding the Want of Custom. His Con-  
 versation among his Friends was very diverting and familiar, but in Publick reserv'd and grave. He us'd often to consult with the Lord Broghil, Pierpoint, Whitelock, Sir Charles Wolsey and Thurloe; and would be shut up three or four Hours together with them in private Discourse, and none were admitted to come in to him: He would sometimes be very chearful, and, laying aside his Greatness, would be exceeding familiar; and by Way of Diversion would make Verses with

with them, and every one must try his Fancy : He commonly called for Tobacco, Pipes, and a Candle, and would now and then take a Pipe himself : Then he would fall again to his great and serious Business, and would advise with them about his weighty and important Affairs.

HE affected, for the most part, a Plainness in his Clothes ; but in them, as well as in his Guards and Attendance, he appear'd with Magnificence upon publick Occasions. He was very temperate, sparing in his Diet, and tho' sometimes he would drink freely, yet never to Excess : He was moderate in all other Pleasures, and after his first Reformation, free from all visible Immoralities, and seem'd to be a great Enemy to Vice, and a Lover of Virtue, always taking care to suppress the former, and encourage the latter. He writ a tolerable good Hand, and a Stile becoming a Gentleman, except whea he us'd to cant, which, whether it was affected or sincere, we leave others to judge. His Speeches were, for the most part, ambiguous, especially in publick Meetings, wherein he rather left others to pick out his Meaning, than told them himself : Tho' at other Times he sufficiently shew'd he could command his Stile according as there was Occasion, and would deliver himself with such a Force and Strength of Expression, that 'twas commonly said, *That every Word he spoke was a Thing.* He loved Men of Wit, and was a great Admirer of Musick, entertaining the most Skilful in that Science in his Pay and Family. He respected all Persons that excell'd in any Art, and would procure them to be sent or brought to him. He was very well read in the Greek and Roman Story ; but 'tis very obvious, that in governing these Nations, he studied Men more than Books, so that his Turn was served in all Offices. No Man was ever better serv'd nor took more Pains to be so : No

Man more cunningly div'd into the Manners of Men, and into the Tempers of those whom he had any thing to do with, nor sooner discover'd their Talents. And if he came to hear of a Man fit for his Purpose, tho' ever so obscure, he sent for him, and employ'd him; suiting the Employment to the Person, and not the Person to the Employment: And upon this Maxim in his Government depended, in a great measure, his Success.

HE had undoubtedly a wonderful Knowledge of Men, and by his great Penetration could soon discover their Abilities and Qualifications: An Instance of which we have in Dr. Calamy's Life of Mr. Howe. He tells us, that Mr. Howe having Occasion to come to *London*, had a mind to hear a Sermon at *White-Hall*, on the last *Sunday* he designed to stay in Town. The Protector seeing him, knew him to be a Country Minister by his Habit; and discerning something more than ordinary in his Looks, sent a Messenger to him, desiring to speak with him after the Service was over. Mr. Howe waiting upon him accordingly, the Protector desired him to preach before him the next Lord's Day; and told him it was in vain to attempt to excuse himself, for that he would take no Denial. Mr. Howe pleaded, that his People expected him, and would be uneasy if he stay'd any longer from them: But Cromwell undertook to write to them himself, and to dispatch one to supply his Place, which he actually did; and Mr. Howe preached before him as he was desired. Cromwell press'd him to do the same a second and a third Time; and after much free Conversation in private, nothing would satisfy him but he must be his Household Chaplain; and he promis'd to take Care that his Place should be supply'd at *Torrington* to the People's Content. Mr. Howe was highly respe&ted by the Protector, and had a

great

great Interest in him; tho' he was once like to lose his Favour, upon the following Occasion, (as related by the above-mentioned Author.) The Notion of a *particular Faith* in Prayer, carry'd even as far as to *Inspiration* it self, prevail'd much in *Cromwell's Court*; and great Pains were taken to cultivate and support it. Mr. *Howe* having heard a Sermon from a noted person in Defence of this Notion, resolv'd the next Time his Turn came to preach before the Protector, to oppose such Spiritual Pride and Confidence. *Cromwell* heard him with great Attention; but would sometimes knit his Brows, and discover great Uneasiness. After the Sermon a Person of Distinction came to him, and ask'd him if he knew what he had done; and signified his Apprehension, that the Protector would be so offended at that Discourse, that he would find it a hard Matter ever to make his Peace with him, or secure his Favour for the future: And Mr. *Howe* himself afterwards observ'd, that *Cromwell* was cooler in his Carriage to him than before; tho' he never mentioned the Sermon to him.

To return to his Character: He had a rare Faculty of examining and winding about the Minds of all, even his Enemies, which he could beset with innumerable Snares and Artifices. He often made Feasts for the inferior Officers of the Army, and as they were eating, he would order the Drums to beat, and call in his Foot-Guards, to fall on and snatch off the Meat from the Table, before they had half done; after which, to make farther Diversion, he would proceed to throwing of Cushions, putting burning Coals into their Boots and Pockets, and a hundred such Pranks: And when the Officers had sufficiently tir'd themselves with Laughing and Sporting in that Manner, he would wheedle them to open their Hearts, and so draw from them some Secrets of

the greatest Moment ; while himself, founding the Opinions of others, artfully conceal'd his own. He had an absolute Command over all his Passions and Affections, and could suit his Carriage to all Companies and Occasions. He would sometimes be very merry and jocund with some of the Nobility ; and would then take Occasion to tell them, what Company they had lately kept, and when and where they had drank the King and Royal Family's Health ; advising them, when they did it again, to do it more privately ; and this without the least Sign of Passion, but in a Way of Mirth and Drollery. Having entertain'd some Jealousy of General Monk in *Scotland*, he, a little before his Death, wrote a letter to him with his own Hand. The Body of the Letter contain'd only some general Matters relating to the Government ; but after his usual drolling Manner, he subjoin'd this by Way of Postscript, which was indeed the main Occasion of the Letter : *There be that tell me, that there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce Charles Stuart ; I pray use your Diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me.*

ALL allow he was an extraordinary Genius, and Master of the most refined Policy ; that he had a great Spirit, a wonderful Circumspection and Sagacity, and a most magnanimous Resolution. His Courage and Conduct in the Field were undoubtedly admirable ; he had a Greatness of Soul, which the greatest Dangers and Difficulties rather animated than discouraged ; and his Discipline and Government of the Army was in all Respects such as might become the most renowned and accomplish'd General. "He must, says "the Lord Clarendon, have had a wonderful "Understanding in the Natures and Humours "of Men, and as great a Dexterity in applying "them,

“ them, who, from a private and obscure Birth  
“ (tho’ of a good Family) without Interest or  
“ Estate, Alliance or Friendship, could fai’ him-  
“ self to such a Height, and compound and knead  
“ such opposite and contradictory Tempers, Hu-  
“ mours, and Interests, into a Consistence that  
“ contributed to his Designs, and to their own  
“ Destruction ; whilst himself grew insensibly  
“ powerful enough to cut off those by whom he  
“ had climb’d, in the Instant that they projected  
“ to demolish their own Building.”

AMBITIOUS he certainly was to a very high Degree, and yet at the same time seem’d to have a passionate Regard to the publick Good : And if this was really the Case, the former seems to have so far blinded him, as to make him think many Things were for the publick Good which really were not so ; for many Things he did which cannot but be acknowledg’d to be contrary to the known Rights and Liberties of the People : But how far the Necessity of Affairs, and the Confusion and unsettled State the Nation was then in, how far this extraordinary Case, I say, might justify such Proceedings in some Instances, in order to prevent greater Confusions and Distractions, or whether this was really *Cromwell’s Design* in those Proceedings, I leave the Reader to judge. But whatever Censure we are to pass upon his Actions of this kind, it is allow’d by all, even by his Enemies, that he perform’d many great and laudable Things, to the Honour and Advantage of the Nation. One of them reckons them up thus : “ 1. By *Blake* he more humbled  
“ and subdu’d the *Algerine, Tripoli, and Tunis*  
“ Pirates, than ever any before or since did.  
“ 2. *Westminster-Hall* was never replenish’d with  
“ more learned and upright Judges than by him ;  
“ nor was Justice, either in Law or Equity, in  
“ Civil Cafes, more equally distributed, where  
“ he

" he was not a Party. 3. When the *Norway*  
" Traders represented to him the Mischief and  
" Inconveniences of the Act of Navigation, he,  
" during his time, dispensed with it, and permitted  
" the *English* to trade to *Norway* for Tim-  
" ber, Mafts, Pitch, Tar, and Iron, as before  
" the Act : And by a Law made in his third  
" Parliament, License is given to transport Fish  
" in foreign Bottoms. 4. Though he play'd  
" the Fool (to use our Author's own Words) in  
" making War with *Spain*, and Peace with *France*,  
" yet he made a more advantagious Treaty of  
" Commerce for the *English* to *France*, than be-  
" fore they had. 5. Tho' he join'd Forces with  
" the *French* against the *Spaniards*, yet he re-  
" serv'd the Sea-Towns conquer'd from the *Spa-*  
" *niard*, to himself, and so had *Dunkirk* and  
" *Mardike* deliver'd up to him, and would have  
" had *Ostend*, if the Garrison had not cheated both  
" *Mazarine* and him ; thereby to be Arbitra-  
" tor over the *French*, as well as *Spaniards*, when  
" he pleas'd. 6. *Cromwell* outvy'd the best of  
" our Kings, in rendring our Laws to the  
" Subject in the *English* Tongue : For tho' *Ed-*  
" *ward I.* permitted Pleading in the *English*  
" Tongue, yet he went no farther ; whereas  
" *Cromwell* render'd not only the Pleadings, but  
" Practice, and Laws themselves into *English*." In short, he apply'd himself so industriously to the Business of the Common-wealth, and discover'd such Abilities for managing it, that his greatest Enemies acknowledged he was not unworthy of the Government, if his Way to it had been just and innocent. And he shew'd his good Understanding in nothing more than in seeking out capable and worthy Men for all Employments, but more particularly for the Courts of Law, which gave a general Satisfaction.

THO'

THO' he was brave in his Person, yet he was wary in his Conduit ; for from the time he was first declar'd Protector, he always wore a Coat of Mail under his Clothes. He was very cautious and resery'd whenever there was Occasion, and in Matters of greatest Moment, trusted none but his Secretary *Thurloe*, and oftentimes not him ; an Instance of which the Secretary us'd to tell of himself : " That he was once commanded by *Cromwell* to go at a certain Hour to *Grays-Inn*, and at such a Place deliver a Bill of 20000*l.* payable to the Bearer at *Genoa*, to a Man he should find walking in such a Habit and Posture as he describ'd him, without speaking a Word." *Thurloe* did as he was order'd ; and never knew to his dying Day, either the Person or the Occasion. At another time the Protector came late at Night to *Thurloe's* Office, to give him Directions about something of great Importance and Secrecy ; which having done, he observ'd, that Mr. *Moreland*, one of the Clerks, was in the Room, seeming to be asleep upon his Desk ; but suspecting that he might not really be so, and that he might have over-heard their Discourse, he presently drew a Poniard, which he always carry'd under his Coat, and would have dispatch'd him upon the Spot, if *Thurloe* had not earnestly intreated him to desist, and assur'd him, that *Moreland* having sat up two Nights together, was now certainly fast asleep.

No Prince seem'd to be Master of so much, and so particular Intelligence as *Cromwell* ; of which we have given some remarkable Instances in the foregoing History, and shall here add one more, as wonderful as any of the rest : A Gentleman who had serv'd the late King, desir'd leave of the Protector to travel, and obtain'd it, on Condition he should not see Charles Stuart. Accordingly arriving at *Cologn*, he sent to desire of the

the King that he might wait on him by Night, which was agreed to. And when he had fully discours'd of the Business he came about, he took leave, having receiv'd a Letter which he sew'd within the Crown of his Hat. Upon his Return to *England*, he came with Confidence to the Protector ; and being ask'd by him, *if he had punctually perform'd his Promise*, he answer'd, *that he had* : But, said his Highness, *Who was it that put out the Candles when you spake to Charles Stuart?* The Gentleman was startled at this unexpected Question ; and the Protector farther demanding, *What he said to him*, he answer'd, *Nothing at all. Did he not send a Letter by you then?* said Cromwell ; and the Gentleman denying that also, Cromwell took his Hat, and having found the Letter, sent him immediately to the Tower.

HIS maintaining the Honour of the Nation in all foreign Parts, gratify'd the Temper which is very natural to *Englishmen*. Of this he was so careful, that tho' he was not a crown'd Head, yet his Ambassadors had all the Respects and Honours paid them, which our Kings Ambassadors ever had. He would say, *That the Dignity of the Crown was upon the account of the Nation, of which the King was only the Representative Head* ; and therefore the Nation being still the same, he would have the same Respect paid to his Ministers. And 'tis very observable, that Lockhart, Cromwell's Ambassador in France, and Governeur of Dunkirk, told Bishop Burnet, *That when he was sent afterwards Ambassador by King Charles, he found he had nothing of that Regard that was paid him in Cromwell's Time.*

FEW Princes ever bore their Character higher upon all Occasions than our Protector, especially in his Treaties with crown'd Heads. And 'tis a Thing without Example, that's related by one of the best inform'd Historians of the Age, namely

namely *Puffendorf*, in the Life of the Elector of Brandenburgh, That in *Cromwell's League* with France against *Spain*, he would not allow the French King to call himself King of France, but King of the French; whereas he took to himself not only the Title of Protector of *England*, but likewise of *France*. And which is yet more surprizing, in the Instrument of the Treaty, the Protector's Name was put before the French King's. *France* indeed was then under a Minority, and was not arriv'd to that Power and Greatness, which it afterwards attain'd to; towards which our Protector contributed not a little, by that Alliance with *France* against *Spain*, which is generally reckon'd the falsest Step he ever made with respect to the Repose of Europe; and for which he has been highly reflect'd on: But I shall here set down in his behalf, what Sir *William Temple* writes concerning him in the Third Part of his *Memoirs*.

“ CARDINAL Mazarine, says that Author, “ having surmounted his own Dangers, and the “ Difficulties incident to a Minority, pursu'd the “ Plan left him by his Predecessor, (*viz.* Cardinal Richlieu;) and by his Measures taken with “ *Cromwell*, and the Assistance of an immortal Bo- “ dy of 6000 brave English, which by Agreement “ were to be continually recruited, he made such a “ Progress in Flanders, that *Cromwell* soon per- “ ceiv'd the Balance turn'd, and grown too hea- “ vy on the French Side: Whereupon he dis- “ patch'd a Gentleman privately to Madrid, to “ propose there a Change of his Treaty with “ *France*, into one with *Spain*; by which he “ would draw his Forces over into their Service, “ and make them 10000 to be continually re- “ cruited, upon Condition their first Action should “ be to besiege *Calais*, and when taken, to put “ it into his Hands. The Person sent upon this  
“ Errand,

“ Errand, was past the *Pyrenees*, when he was  
 “ overtaken by the News of Cromwell’s Death :  
 “ Whereupon *Mazarine* having not only lost his  
 “ strongest Support in *Flanders*, but observ’d how  
 “ his Design would never be serv’d by any Mea-  
 “ sures he could take with *England*, however it  
 “ should be govern’d, resolv’d upon a Peace with  
 “ *Spain*, and made it at the *Pyrenees.*”

*CROMWELL*’s Influence was so great in *France*, that the Cardinal durst not deny him any thing, which he took very hard, and complain’d of to those he could be free with. He one Day made a visit to Madam *Turenne*, and when he took his leave of her, she, as she was wont to do, besought him to continue gracious to the Churches. Upon which *Mazarine* told her,  
 “ That he knew not how to behave himself. If  
 “ he advis’d the King to punish and suppress  
 “ their Insolence, *Cromwell* threaten’d him to  
 “ join with the *Spaniard*; and if he shew’d any  
 “ Favour to them, at *Rome* they accounted him  
 “ an *Heretick.*” Twas said, that the Cardinal would change Countenance, when he heard *Cromwell* nam’d; so that it pass’d into a Proverb in *France*, That he was not so much afraid of the Devil as of Oliver *Cromwell*.

*SPAIN* dreaded him, and courted his Friendship, as much as *France*, tho’ the latter prevail’d. When the *Spanish* Ambassador was inform’d, that the Fleet under *Penn* and *Venables* was gone towards the *West-Indies*, and that the Storm was likely to fall upon some of his Master’s Territories, he apply’d himself to the Protector, to know whether he had any just Ground of Complaint against the King his Master; if so, he was ready to give him all possible Satisfaction. The Protector demanded a Liberty to trade to the *Spanish West-Indies*, and the Repeal of the Laws of the *Inquisition*: To which the Ambassador reply’d,

reply'd, *That his Master had but two Eyes, and that he would have him to put them both out at once.*

THE States of Holland so dreaded him, that they were very careful to give him no manner of Umbrage: And when at any time the King or his Brothers came to see their Sister, the Princesses of Orange, within a Day or two they us'd to send a Deputation to acquaint them, that *Cromwell* had oblig'd them to give them no Harbour. When King *Charles* was seeking for a Pretext for a War with the *Dutch*, in 1672, he made this one, That they suffer'd some of his rebellious Subjects to live in their Country. *Borel* their Ambassador answer'd, That it was a Maxim of long standing among them, not to enquire upon what Account Strangers came to live in their Dominions, but to entertain them all, unless they had been guilty of conspiring against the Persons of Princes. The King thereupon telling him, how they had us'd him and his Brothers, the Ambassador with much Simplicity answer'd, *Alas, Sir, that was another Thing : Cromwell was a great Man, and made himself be fear'd both by Land and Sea.* To which the King reply'd, *I'll make myself be fear'd too in my Turn.* But, as is observ'd, he was scarce as good as his Word.

To conclude, even the *Turks* stood in awe of *Cromwell*, and durst not offend him. And all Italy trembled at his Name, and seem'd under a pannick Fear as long as he liv'd; which was not without Reason, nothing being more usual than his saying, *That his Ships in the Mediterranean should visit Civita Vecchia, and the Sound of his Cannon should be heard in Rome.* But in the midst of all this Power and Grandeur, Death came upon him, and put an end to all his high Projects and daring Designs.

WE

His magnificient  
lying in  
State.

WE shall now conclude all with a particular Account of the magnificent Funeral of this great Man. The Corps, at least in Appearance, was on the 26th of September at Night, privately remov'd from *White-ball* in a Mourning Herse, attended by his domestick Servants, to *Somerset-House*. A few Days after, his Effigies was with great State and Magnificence, expos'd openly, Multitudes daily flocking to see the Sight, which appear'd in this Order. The first Room was wholly hung with Black; at the upper End of which, was plac'd a Cloth and Chair of State. In like manner were the second and third Rooms, all having Scutcheons very thick upon the Walls, and Guards of Partizans for People to pass thro'. The fourth Room was compleatly hung with black Velvet, the Cieling being also cover'd with the same. Here lay the Effigies under a noble Canopy of black Velvet, apparell'd in the most magnificent Robes, lac'd with Gold, and furr'd with Ermines, with a Scepter in one Hand, and a Globe in the other, and a Sword hanging by its Side, and a rich Cap on the Head suitable to the Robes. Behind the Head was placed a Chair and Cushion of tissu'd Gold, in which lay an imperial Crown, beset with Diamonds and other precious Stones. The Bed of State on which the Effigies lay, was cover'd with a large Pall of black Velvet, under which was a Holland Sheet, born up by six Stools cover'd with Cloth of Gold. The Bed was inclos'd with Rails and Balusters, and, besides solemn Mourners, surrounded with Banners, Banrols, and all kinds of Trophies of military Honours. Within the Rails stood eight silver Candlesticks about five Foot high, with white Wax Tapers standing in them, of three Foot long. At each Corner of the Rails was erected an upright Pillar, which bore on their Tops Lions and Dragons, holding in their Paws

Streamers

Streamers crowned. The Effigies having for some Weeks continu'd in this Posture, on the first of November was remov'd into the great Hall, where with new Ornaments and Ceremony it was placed, standing upon an Ascent under a Cloth of State, with the imperial Crown upon the Head. Four or five hundred Candles set in flat shining Candlesticks, were so plac'd round near the Roof of the Hall, that the Light they gave seem'd like the Rays of the Sun: By all which his late Highness was represented as now in a State of Glory.

HAVING remain'd thus till the 22d of November, the waxen *Effigies* of the Protector, with the <sup>His post</sup> *Crown* on his Head, *Sword* by his Side, *Globe* <sup>nous Fu-</sup> *Crown* on his Head, *Sword* by his Side, *Globe* <sup>neral.</sup> and *Scepter* in his Hands, was plac'd in a stately open Chariot, cover'd all over with black Velvet, and drawn by six Horses cover'd with the same, both Chariot and Horses being adorn'd with Plumes and other Ornaments. The Streets from *Somerset-House* to *Westminster-Abby*, were guarded on both sides of the Way by Soldiers in new Red Coats and black Buttons, with their Ensigns wrapp'd in Cypress. The Procession was in the following Manner: First of all went a Marshal attended by his Deputy, and thirteen more on Horse-back, to clear the Way: After these follow'd the poor Men of *Westminster* by two and two, in mourning Gowns and Hoods; and next to them, the Servants of those Persons of Quality that attended the Funeral. Then came the Protector's late domestick Servants, with his Bargemen and Watermen, follow'd by the Servants of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of *London*; after whom follow'd the Gentlemen Attendants on foreign Ambassadors and publick Ministers. After these march'd the poor Knights of *Windsor* in Gowns and Hoods, then the Clerks, Secretaries, and Officers of the Army, Admiralty,

rality, Treasury, Navy, and Exchequer ; next, the Commissioners of the Excise, of the Army, and Committee of the Navy. Then march'd the Commissioners for Approbation of Preachers, and behind them, all the Officers, Messengers, and Clerks belonging to the Privy Council, and both Houses of Parliament. Next in order follow'd his late Highness's Physicians, the Head Officers of the Army, the Officers and Aldermen of London, the Masters of Chancery, and the Protector's Council at Law ; the Judges of Admiralty, Judges in Wales, and Master of Requests ; the Barons of the Exchequer, Judges of both Benches, and the Lord Mayor of London ; the Persons ally'd in Blood to the Protector, and the Members of the late Other House ; the publick Ministers of foreign Princes, the Dutch Ambassador alone, having his Train held up by four Gentlemen ; then the Portugal Ambassador, and the French Ambassador in like manner ; the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Commissioners of the Treasury, and his Highness's Privy-Council. These all mov'd in a solemn and pompous Procession, each Division or Company being distinguish'd by Drums, Trumpets, Banners, and led Horses. Then came the Chariot with the Effigies, on each side of which were six Banrols born by several Persons ; and likewise several Pieces of the Protector's Armour, carry'd by eight Officers of the Army, attended by the Heralds. Next went Garter, Principal King at Arms, attended by a Gentleman on each Hand bare-headed, and then came the chief Mourner : After which follow'd the Horse of Honour, in very rich Trappings embroider'd on Crimson-Velvet, and adorn'd with white, red, and yellow Plumes, being led by the Master of the Horse. The Rear of this noble Shew was brought up by the Protector's Guard of Halberdiers, the Warders

Warders of the *Tower*, and a Troop of Horse. The Effigies being brought in this Manner to the *West* End of the *Abby* Church, was taken from the Chariot by ten Gentlemen, and carry'd through the Church under a Canopy of State up to the *East* End, where it was plac'd in a most magnificent Structure built for that purpose, to remain for a certain Time expos'd to publick View.

AFTER all, as the Author of the *Complete History of England* observes in his Notes, it remains a Question, where his Body was really buried: It was in appearance in *Westminster-Abby*; some report it was carry'd below Bridge, and thrown into the *Thames*; but 'tis most probable that 'twas buried in *Naseby Field*. This Account, says he, is given as averr'd, and ready to be depos'd, if occasion requir'd, by Mr. *Barkstead*, Son to *Barkstead* the Regicide, who was about 15 Years old at the time of *Cromwell's* Death:

" That the said *Barkstead* his Father, being Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and a great Confident of *Cromwell's*, did, among other such Confidants, in the Time of his Illness, desire to know where he would be bury'd: To which the Protector answer'd, *Where he had obtain'd the greatest Victory and Glory, and as nigh the Spot as could be guess'd, where the Heat of the Action was*, viz. In the Field at *Naseby*, Com. *Northampton*. Which accordingly was thus perform'd: At Midnight, soon after his Death, the Body (being first embalmed and wrapt in a Leaden Coffin) was in a Herse convey'd to the said Field, Mr. *Barkstead* himself attending, by Order of his Father, close to the Herse: Being come to the Field, they found, about the midst of it, a Grave dug about nine Foot deep, with the Green Sod carefully laid on one side, and the Mould on the other; in which

" the Coffin being put, the Grave was instantly  
" fill'd up, and the green Sod laid exactly flat  
" upon it, Care being taken that the surplus  
" Mould should be clean remov'd. Soon after,  
" the like Care was taken, that the Field should  
" be entirely ploughed up, and it was sown  
" three or four Years successively with Corn."

Several other material Circumstances, says the fore-mention'd Author, the said Mr. Barkstead (who now frequents *Richard's Coffee-House* within *Temple-Bar*) relates, too long to be here inserted.





# P O E M

## Upon the Death of

# OLIVER CROMWELL,

# Lord Protector.

---

By Mr. WALLER.

---

**W**E must resign! Heav'n his great  
Soul does claim

In Storms as loud as his immortal  
Fame;  
His dying Groans, his last Breath, shake our  
Isle,  
And Trees uncut fall for his Fun'r'al Pile;

## A P O E M.

About his Palace their broad Roots are lost  
Into the Air : So *Romulus* was lost:  
New *Rome* in such a Tempest miss'd her King;  
And from obeying, fell to worshipping.

ON *Oeta's* Top thus *Hercules* lay dead,  
With ruin'd Oaks and Pines about him  
spread ;  
Those his last Fury from the Mountain rent;  
Our dying Hero, from the Continent  
Ravish'd whole Towns, and Forts from *Spaniards* reft,  
As his last Legacy to *Britain* left.

THE Ocean which so long our Hopes  
confin'd,  
Cou'd give no Limits to his vaster Mind:  
Our Bounds Enlargement was his latest  
Toil;  
Nor hath he left us Pris'ners to our Isle:

Under

## A P O E M

Under the Tropick is our Language spoke,  
And part of *Flanders* hath receiv'd our  
Yoke.

FROM civil Broils he did us disen-  
gage;  
Found nobler Objects for our Martial  
Rage:

And, with wise Conduct, to his Country  
shew'd

The antient Way of conquering abroad.

UNGRATEFUL then, if we no Tears  
allow

To him that gave us Peace and Empire  
too!

Princes that fear'd him, grieve, concern'd  
to see

No Pitch of Glory from the Grave is free,

## A P O E M.

Nature herself took Notice of his Death,  
And, sighing, swell'd the Sea with such a  
Breath,

That to remotest Shores her Billows  
roll'd,

Th' approaching Fate of their great Ruler  
told.



A P.



# APPENDIX,

Containing a more perfect

Account of CROMWELL's Pedigree;

As also some Account of his Children, and  
of the State of Affairs till the KING's  
RESTORATION.

THE Name of the Family from whence the Protector was descended, was not originally *Cromwell* but *Williams*. *Morgan Williams*, Son and Heir of *William*, of a very ancient Family in *Wales*, married the Sister of the famous *Thomas Lord Cromwell*, who was made Earl of *Essex* by King *Henry VIII*. By her he had a Son nam'd *Richard*, who when he grew up was knighted by King *Henry*, and took the Name of his Uncle *Cromwell*, tho' he kept the Arms of *Williams*. He marry'd *Frances* Daughter and Coheir of Sir *Thomas Murfyn*; and upon the Dissolution of the Monasteries, obtain'd all those Lands in *Huntingtonshire*, which belong'd to any of them in that County, and which amounted to a prodigious

gious Value: And this was the first settling of that Family in that County. Of this Sir *Richard Cromwell*, we have this Story. On the 1st of May, 1540, there was held a solemn Triumph at *Westminster* before King *Henry VIII.* by Sir *John Dudley*, Sir *Richard Cromwell*, and four other Challengers; which was proclaim'd in *France*, *Spain*, *Scotland* and *Flanders*: On the second Day at Tournaments, Sir *Richard Cromwell* overthrew Mr. *Palmer* off his Horse; and on the fifth Day at *Barryers*, he likewise overthrew Mr. *Cuspey*, to his and the Challengers great Honour. He had a Son, Sir *Henry Cromwell*, Knighted by Queen *Elizabeth* in the 6th Year of her Reign. This Sir *Henry* marry'd *Joan* Daughter and Heir of Sir *Ralph Warren*, and made his chief Seat upon the Ruins of a House of Nuns at *Hinchinbrook*. He was a very worthy Gentleman, and was highly honour'd and belov'd both in Court and Country. He had six Sons; *Oliver*, afterwards Sir *Oliver*, who made that noble Entertainment for King *James I.* mention'd P. 1, 2. of this History; *Robert*, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Philip* and *Ralph*. The second Son, Mr. *Robert Cromwell*, who marry'd the Daughter of Sir *Richard Steward*, was the Father of our Protector. He was also a Gentleman of very good Reputation in his Country, and was no less esteem'd than any of his Ancestors for his Personal Worth.

THE Protector had three Sons, *Oliver*, *Richard* and *Henry*. *Oliver* dy'd young. *Richard* marry'd *Dorothy* eldest Daughter of *Richard Major Esq;* of *Hursley* in *Hampshire*; where he liv'd a private Life during the greatest Part of his Father's Government; but towards the latter end of it he was sent for by him to come to Court; and made one of his Privy Council,

and

and soon after was chosen by the University of Oxford to be their Chancellor, with which Honour he was very solemnly install'd at Whitehall. He was said to be nominated by his Father for his Successor, tho' the Truth of it was very much question'd; and 'twas thought he never design'd him for it, having scarce made any step towards training him up to it. However, upon his Father's Death he was proclaim'd Protector, and was congratulated thereupon by Addresses from all Parts. But the Officers of the Army being divided among themselves, and the Republican Party in particular labouring to undermine him, and restore their beloved Commonwealth, he found himself necessitated to call a Parliament. A Parliament was accordingly summon'd, which Richard met on the 27th of January, with the same State that the English Monarchs and his Father had done before him. They had not sat long before great Differences and Contentions arose between them and the Army; so that the Officers being inform'd that some Votes were pass'd in Opposition to their Designs, immediately sent Fleetwood and Desborough to the Protector, to advise him forthwith to dissolve the Parliament. Fleetwood alledg'd, That if this were not presently done, the Nation would certainly be involv'd in Blood. Desborough, who was of a rougher Temper, told him, 'Twas impossible for him to keep both Parliament and Army his Friends; and desir'd him to chuse which he would prefer: If he dissolv'd the Parliament out of hand, he had the Army at his Devotion; if he refus'd that, he believ'd the Army would quickly pull him out of Whitehall. On the other Hand, many Members assur'd him, that the Parliament would continue firm to him, if he would but adhere to them: Some Officers of the

the Army likewise, as *Ingoldsby*, *Whalley*, *Gough*, and *Howard*, offer'd to stand by him, against those who were call'd the *General Council* of the Army; and *Howard* in particular earnestly pres'd him to exert himself by some vigorous Action, such as supported his Father's Authority to the last: *You are Cromwell's Son*, said he, *shew your self worthy of that Name*: *This Busines requires a bold Stroke, supported by a good Hand*; do not suffer your self to be daunted, and my Head shall answer for the Consequence. *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desborough*, and *Vane*, are the Contrivers of this; *I will rid you of them*, do but stand by me, and second my Zeal with your Name. *Richard* answer'd, *That he did not love Blood*; and being a Man of an irresolute Temper, was at last prevail'd on by the opposite Party to dissolve the Parliament.

HAVING got rid of the Parliament, the Council of Officers were for laying *Richard* aside too; and so they restor'd the Remnant of the long Parliament, which *Oliver* had ejected, to their Seats again; and *Richard*, after a Reign of about seven Months and twenty Days, return'd to his former private Life. The long Parliament having sat about five Months, were again routed by the ambitious *Lambert*; and about three Months after were again restor'd, by means of the Soldiers revolting from their Leaders, and declaring for the Parliament, and the Interposition of *General Monk*; who now march'd out of *Scotland*, and finding the Spirit of the People generally run that Way, restor'd the secluded Members also to their Seats again. This made such an Alteration in this Assembly, that they soon dissolved themselves, having order'd a new Parliament to be summon'd; which Parliament meeting on *April 25th 1660*, in about a Month's Time brought in the KING.

THE

THE Lord Clarendon tells the following Story of *Richard Cromwell*: That soon after the King's Restoration, he found himself under a Necessity of retiring into *France*; and having continu'd some Years in Obscurity at *Paris*, upon the first Rumour of a War like to break out between *England* and *France*, he thought fit to leave that Kingdom, and remove to *Geneva*. Taking his Journey thither by *Bourdeaux*, and thro' the Province of *Languedoc*, he went thro' *Pezenas*, a Town belonging to the Prince of *Conti*, then Governour of *Languedoc*, who made his Residence there. Staying some Time in this Place, he happen'd to meet with an old Acquaintance of his Father's, and his Party; who told him, *That the Prince of Conti expected all Strangers who came to that Town to wait on him, and that he treated all, particularly the English with great Civility; that he need not be known, but that himself would inform the Prince, that another English Gentleman was passing thro' the Town, who would be glad to have the Honour of kissing his Hand.* The Prince, as his manner was, receiv'd him very civilly; and began to discourse with him about the *English Affairs*, asking several Questions about the King, and whether all quietly submitted to his Government; and in the end said, *Well, that Oliver, tho' he was a Traitor and a Villain, was a brave Man, had great Parts, great Courage, and was worthy to command; but that Richard, that Coxcomb and Poltron, was surely the basest Fellow alive; what is become of that Fool? How was it possible he could be such a Sot?* He answer'd, *That he was betray'd by those he most trusted, and who had been most oblig'd by his Father;* and so having no great Pleasure of his Visit, soon took his leave, and the next Morning left the Town. And about two Days after the Prince came to know that it was *Richard himself whom he had talk'd to after that*

Man-

Manner. *Richard*, some Years before the Death of King *Charles II.* return'd to *England*, where having liv'd to a great Age, as a remarkable Example of the Security of Innocence and the Instability of human Greatness, he dy'd in the Year 1712.

THE Protector's third Son *Henry*, married *Elizabeth* eldest Daughter of Sir *Francis Russell* of *Chippenham* in *Cambridgeshire*, and was by his Father made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; where his Deportment render'd him very popular, and he manag'd the Government with so much Discretion, that in a small Time he brought that disorder'd Nation into the most hopeful Condition of a flourishing State: But being call'd away by the long Parliament, upon his Brother's Submission, he would not offer to resist, but quietly laid down his Charge. And thus ended the Majesty and Glory of the *Cromwell* Family, which had made not only its own, but all Neighbouring Nations to tremble.

THE Protector had also four Daughters, *Bridget*, *Elizabeth*, *Mary*, and *Frances*. *Bridget* was married first to *Henry Ireton*, whom *Cromwell* left his Deputy in *Ireland*, and of whom so much has been said in the former Part of this History; and he dying, she was afterwards married to Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*. *Elizabeth* was married to Mr. *John Claypole*, and dy'd a little before her Father: *Whitelock* says, she was a Lady of excellent Parts, dear to her Parents, civil to all Persons, and courteous and friendly to all Gentlemen of her Acquaintance; and that her Death did much grieve her Father. *Mary* his third Daughter was married to *Thomas* Lord *Viscount Fauconberg*, afterwards created Earl by King *William*: She had the Character of a wise and worthy Woman, and was thought more likely to have maintain'd the Post than either

of her Brothers; whence 'twas commonly said, That those who wore Breeches, deserv'd Petticoats better; but if those in Petticoats (meaning her) had been in Breeches, they would have held faster. Frances, the youngest Daughter, was married first to Mr. Robert Rich, Grandson and Heir of the Earl of Warwick; and afterwards to Sir John Russel of Chippenham in Cambridgeshire: She was also a very worthy Person.



F I N I S.

BOOKS Printed for T. Cox, at the Lamb, under the Royal-Exchange in Cornhill.

I. THE Tryal and Sufferings of Mr. Isaac Martin, who was put into the Inquisition in Spain, for the Sake of the Protestant Religion. Written by himself, and dedicated to his most sacred Majesty King George, by whose gracious Interposition he was released. The Second Edition, adorn'd with several curious Cuts: To which is prefix'd a Copy of a Certificate signed by the then Archbishops and Bishops, as viz.

W. Carr. MVS<sup>o</sup> Wdgton.  
W. Eber. Q. Norwic.  
Joh. London. R. I. W. Salum.  
Jonat. Windham. Thos. Circstrensis.  
W. Ely. N. Fr. Wm.

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